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The Legitimacy of Experiential Learning in Research Universities

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THE LEGITIMACY OF EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING IN RESEARCH UNIVERSITIES


A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
AND THE COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE STUDIES
OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY


Angela E. Schmiede

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ABSTRACT

The goal of this historical and exploratory study was to describe and analyze the spread and legitimacy of experiential learning to and within Cornell University and Stanford University. Using an institutional and political framework, this analysis focused on understanding how elements of legitimacy from the academy, the experiential learning field and the external environment intersected to shape the diffusion, forms and purposes of experiential learning within Cornell and Stanford. The constructions of legitimacy within these three different contexts shifted over time, influencing the extent to which experiential learning was adopted; and once adopted, the extent to which it was adapted, co-opted or rejected.

Using a qualitative case study design, data were collected at Stanford and Cornell covering the period of 1969-2002. Data included interviews with faculty, administrators, students and staff as well as extensive archival documentation. The study was guided by the following research questions: How and why did experiential learning come to be situated and operationalized within research universities? What are the purposes and legitimacy of different forms of experiential learning in research universities? How has that changed over time?

Primary findings from this study included the following:

- From a macro perspective, Cornell and Stanford adopted similar initiatives at about the same time; however, the extent to which the initiatives were legitimized at each university differed.
- President-initiated experiential learning programs received the most support and resources over time. Senior faculty were more important for initiating programs than sustaining them, whereas students were more important for sustaining programs than initiating them.
- Locating an experiential learning program in Academic Affairs did not necessarily improve its chances for legitimacy and survival.
- Bringing experiential learning programs closer to the academic core often resulted in co-optation or adaptation.

- The quality of experiential learning was often loosely coupled with the legitimacy it received within the university.
- The more closely aligned experiential learning was with traditional scholarship, the more legitimate it became.

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First and foremost, I am grateful to the 63 people I interviewed at Stanford and Cornell who graciously shared their stories about their experiences with experiential learning. Without their interest, participation, and candor, this dissertation could not have happened. I am honored to be able to give voice to their collective stories.

While I was interviewing faculty at Cornell, a professor asked who was on my dissertation committee. When I told him, he commented that after my experience with this stellar assemblage of scholars, all of my other professional experiences would pale by comparison. I couldn't agree with him more.

Thank you to Jim March who found the topic of marginality in organizations interesting and funded my dissertation research generously. As my dissertation chair, he challenged me with questions no one else had thought to ask and played devil's advocate at important stages of the dissertation process. He did so with great wisdom and integrity, supporting me unequivocally throughout the entire process. I could not have asked for a better mentor or friend.

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My scholarly interests in experiential learning started long before I came to Stanford. Dwight Giles has had the most profound influence on my interests and professional development over the past decade. His guidance and friendship have helped me through the more challenging times of my professional career. He remains my most significant mentor, for which I am especially grateful.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ARLO	Action Research Liaison Office
CHE	College of Human Ecology
CIVITAS	Cornell-Ithaca Volunteers in Training and Service
CIW	Cornell in Washington
CPARN	Cornell Participatory Action Research Network
EDP	Extrdepartmental Programs
FFIS	Faculty Fellows in Service
FSO	Field Study Office
FISP	Field and International Study Program
HAP	Human Affairs Program
H&S	Humanities & Sciences
IAC	Innovative Academic Courses
IDP	Interdisciplinary Programs
ILR	Industrial and Labor Relations
ODUS	Office of the Dean of Students
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PSC	Public Service Center
PSN	Public Service Network
PSSP	Public Service Scholars Program
SCIRE	Student Center for Innovation in Research and Education
SIW	Stanford in Washington
SWOPSI	Stanford Workshops on Political and Social Issues
UGS	Undergraduate Special
UNGRASPEL	Undergraduate Special (Agency)
URO	Undergraduate Research Opportunities
URP	Undergraduate Research Programs
VPSA	Vice Provost for Student Affairs
VPUE	Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

MOVING FROM THE MARGINS

Despite its historically marginal status, experiential learning at the undergraduate level has seen marked growth and has spread to all sectors of higher education over the past 30 years, most notably in the forms of service-learning, public service, internships, field study, and action research.¹ Early forms of experiential learning such as internships were adopted first in less prestigious, less competitive institutions (Gamson, 1989; Furco, 2001); however, the growth in membership of more elite institutions in experiential-based professional associations has increased over the past decade, although primarily with regard to service-learning. For example, an analysis of the initial membership of 232 institutions to the Council for Adult and Experiential Education (CAEL) in 1974, which focused largely on assessing prior learning, illustrates that no Ivy League institutions were formally involved with this organization in its early stages. In reference to where CAEL diffused, Gamson (1989) said, "Acceptance of CAEL was quite high...among members of the national infrastructure for change in higher education. It was probably much lower among representatives of elite institutions and disciplinary bodies, which operate in a very different world from the one that CAEL inhabited" (p. 199). By contrast, an analysis of membership to Campus Compact, an organization co-founded by three university presidents of elite universities and the President of Education Commission to the States to promote civic engagement in higher education, shows that all eight Ivy League institutions were officially members during the time of this study. Despite this growth, research universities have been relatively slow to adopt experiential learning.

While experiential learning has been perceived traditionally as peripheral to higher education, very little is known *empirically* about the current and past legitimacy of

¹ In this study, I define experiential learning as any form of field-based education that is experience-centered. Although the term "experiential learning" is often used more broadly to connote any type of active learning (e.g., case studies, simulations, role playing), I use the more narrow definition of field-based learning.

experiential learning and how it came to be situated and operationalized in research universities. It is unclear what the legitimacy and purposes of experiential learning are *within* these institutions, and how the legitimacy and purposes of various types of experiential learning have varied over time.

Although service-learning has become an increasingly popular form of experiential learning in undergraduate higher education over the past decade, this study focuses more broadly on experiential learning since the distinctions between service-learning and other forms of experiential learning (e.g., field studies, action research) are often blurred. Definitions of various types of experiential learning have been contested over time, and in many cases, artificial boundaries have been drawn. Goldstein discusses how this definitional problem played out in the early 1980s: “It seemed to me that except for this kind of rhetorical distinction, there really wasn’t any distinction. The programs conceptually overlapped, if not 100 percent at least 80 percent” (Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, 1999, p. 156).

Despite the spread of service-learning, there is some lack of consensus about what counts as service-learning. Because this study is historical, it is important to consider the diffusion of service-learning relative to other forms of experiential learning (i.e., extracurricular public service) in order to understand why and to what extent it has become legitimized. Furthermore, as one of my informants, a noted historian pointed out, many innovations that are initiated do not yet have formal names. If I had included only those activities that were given a certain label, my data collection would have been incomplete. Likewise, given the timeframe of this research, service-learning is a term that did not become well-known until the late 1980s and early 1990s. Many of the activities that educators would call service-learning today were labeled differently during the 1970s. Instead of trying to create a “clear” definition for service-learning using my data, I am interested in the language that gets used to describe activities where students are engaged experientially. In this study the broad term “experiential learning” acknowledges the ambiguities associated with labeling different forms of experiential learning such as service-learning.

Research Questions

This study seeks to describe and analyze the spread of experiential learning to research universities and to understand how these institutions legitimize the various forms of this practice. In order to understand more about the legitimation of experiential learning, I ask the following questions:

- How and why did experiential learning come to be situated and operationalized within research universities?
- What are the purposes and legitimacy of different forms of experiential learning in research universities? How has that changed over time?

The two case study sites, Cornell University and Stanford University, serve as the contexts in which to explore these questions. I use institutional and political perspectives on organizations to frame the data collection, analysis, and findings from this study.

THE EVOLUTION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING

Experiential learning has its theoretical roots in the works of scholars such as John Dewey (1910; 1938), Jean Piaget (1971), Kurt Lewin (1951), and Alfred North Whitehead (1929). These and other scholars have long called for traditional education to be more practical, relevant, and contextualized; and although experiential learning has proliferated throughout institutions of higher education, many faculty and administrators have resisted *institutionalizing* such non-traditional practices as experiential learning. Over the course of the last century, several different forms of field-based education have evolved under the broader rubric of experiential learning. Field studies, internships, service-learning, public service, action research, and cooperative education are the most common forms of experiential learning in undergraduate education.

The History of Experiential Learning

The literature on the history and spread of experiential learning is sparse--those who have written historical analyses have focused on its evolution over the past 60 years and have focused on particular organizations or threads within experiential learning (Gamson, 1989; Pollack, 1997; Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, 1999). The literature to date is biased toward analyzing service-learning over other forms of experiential learning; in part this is due to the recent popularity in service-learning that was fueled by the passage of President Clinton's National Community Service Trust Act of 1993 and calls for universities to be more responsive to society (Bok, 1986; Lynton and Elman, 1987; Boyer, 1990). In addition, as mentioned earlier, the distinctions among various types of experiential learning are often blurred and contested frequently so that what one practitioner considers an internship, another practitioner might consider service-learning (Stanton, 1990a). Therefore, service-learning histories are sometimes related more broadly to the larger experiential learning movement.

Zelda Gamson (1989), a sociologist and former director of the New England Resource Center on Higher Education (NERCHE), conducted an analysis of the evolution of CAEL (originally the Cooperative Assessment of Experiential Learning, now the

Council on Adult and Experiential Learning), an organization that was founded in 1974 and played an important role in the early spread of experiential learning and the assessment of prior learning for adult learners². CAEL's growth and survival over the past 25 years is remarkable given that its mission is antithetical to that of traditional higher education. While traditional institutions held campus-based learning and credentials as sacred, CAEL advocated for assessment of learning and granting credit for learning experiences gained prior to attending a higher education institution as well as learning that occurred off-campus such as job experiences.

Gamson (1989) concluded that although there had been significant progress in the spread of experiential learning, by the late 1980s the practice had not spread to traditional higher education, which some perceived to be the core of academia. "While there is little systematic information about the number of sponsored experiential learning programs in colleges and universities, the consensus among knowledgeable people is that internships, cooperative education, and other forms of non-classroom learning are more legitimate now than when CAEL began--though, like prior learning, they have a long way to go before most college faculty members become convinced of their value (Washington Center, 1984)" (Gamson, 1989, p. 196). In part, experiential learning failed to move from the periphery to the core of these institutions because of the lack of faculty participation and support. Most of these programs were run by staff members or junior faculty instead of senior faculty who tended to have more legitimacy on their campuses (Gamson, 1989). Faculty participation was key to the institutionalization of experiential learning.

Conspicuously absent from involvement in experiential learning during the time frame Gamson studied were the Ivy League and other top-tier institutions. Gamson (1989, p. 198) cites one of CAEL's critics:

CAEL says they have great response because [we] have gone from 40 to 1000 institutions using prior learning assessment in only four years. But, no Harvard or Ivy Leagues or Big 10 schools are in--no Berkeley, Stanford, Northwestern or Georgetown. [All we] have are small, struggling schools of middle size and state supported institutions, but these are not significant to those in the field. Get University of Chicago, University of Michigan, Stanford, or Harvard. CAEL doesn't have that

² As CAEL focused more on prior learning and adult education, this organization became more peripheral to the field of experiential learning; however, those involved during the early part of CAEL's history helped shape the field.

kind of base yet, to its detriment. They only have those who are into the experimental mode as a survival...(in Talburt, 1986, p. 25)."

Early on, CAEL membership was represented largely by less selective colleges and universities. The membership profile was indicative of where these innovations were founded and adopted on an experimental basis--on the margins of higher education. Although CAEL helped the practice of experiential learning mature and become more acceptable in traditional areas of higher education, it failed to reach the academic core where traditional education continued to dominate the landscape. According to Gamson (1989), "The core is not easy to penetrate. Change in higher education is much more likely to occur through the addition of parallel structures" (p. 200). Those parallel structures, or outside organizations, were usually marginal to the academic core.

This diffusion pattern changed in the early 1990s as a different type of experiential learning--service-learning--evolved and grew in the more elite sectors of higher education. Gamson made the important distinction of change that occurs at the margins rather than the core. She cited Schön's (1971) criticism of innovation theorists who argue that innovation spreads from the center to the periphery and who underestimate the role that the periphery can play in creativity, adaptability, and resistance. Her analysis showed that CAEL offered a professional and cultural home and identity to those "who worked in innovative but often invisible and marginal programs" (Gamson, 1989, p. 64). Her analysis of the change process was that it was slow and tedious and required a tremendous amount of effort and resources to overcome resistance and gain support from faculty and administrators.

Gamson's study assessed CAEL's progress through 1985; however, the impact that CAEL has had on the experiential learning movement over the past 15 years has not been documented in the same manner. In addition, the historical analysis of experiential learning's evolution that she presented is limited to the perspective of one organization that supported experiential learning; other professional experiential learning organizations have eclipsed CAEL as dominant in the field.

Seth Pollack's (1997) study focused specifically on the emergence of service-learning as a field over a 30 year time span and included an analysis of the different "eras" that evolved based on how service-learning was constructed by relevant actors at different points in time. Using an analysis of archival records from federal programs, foundations,

professional associations, and interviews with key leaders in the service-learning field, Pollack defined the period of 1971-1982 as the “Extra-Curricular” Era in which service-learning was characterized as career-oriented and the learning in service-learning occurred primarily outside the academy. By contrast, the current “Curricular-Integrated” Era (1983-present) was characterized by traditional learning processes that are integrated directly into the academy. As service-learning became more curricularized, the focus on outcomes shifted from affective to cognitive and from career development to civic responsibility. Pollack’s study focused on the field of service-learning as the unit of analysis; in his conclusion, he called for further research that looks at both individual organization-level data and data from across different higher education sectors to understand more about the processes by which institutions “adopt, adapt, or ignore” (1997, p. 219) service-learning. In addition, he suggested that individual case studies are needed to understand the factors that support or inhibit institutionalization of service-learning on different campuses.

Tim Stanton, Dwight Giles, and Nadinne Cruz (1999) completed an oral history of 33 “pioneers” whose involvement in the service-learning movement spanned the past 60 years. In their analysis, they saw service-learning as growing out of the 1960s civil rights movement, although they noted that service-learning also had its roots in the land grant movement of the 1860s and various programs such as Civilian Conversation Corps, the Peace Corps, and VISTA . They asserted that service-learning was unknown largely until the mid-1980s. Through the pioneers’ stories, the authors chronicled where and how service-learning originated, who was involved, what motivated and presented barriers to them, and how they conceptualized their work.

Several points of analyses are relevant to the issue being studied here. In analyzing the pioneers’ stories, Stanton et al. (1999) discovered that the pioneers had different values and goals with regard to service-learning and discovered that they were all engaged in education but fell into one of three profiles: those motivated by 1. social justice; 2. democratic education; or 3. education’s role in society. Furthermore, the pioneers had divergent opinions about where service-learning should reside: in the mainstream or on the periphery. As a result, the following question remains unresolved: “Should we aim to assimilate service-learning into the norms of the traditional academy, or should we advocate it as a critique of those basic norms?” (Stanton et al., 1999, p. xii).

The pioneers had divergent views on institutionalization of service-learning--some saw movement from the margins as dangerous. Despite the fact that advocating service-learning had cost some pioneers their jobs, several questioned the push to institutionalize service-learning. As Stanton et al. (1999) noted, some “worried that institutionalizing relationships with the ‘old world’ would corrupt the ‘new,’ robbing service-learning of its power to develop students and communities. Some did not view postsecondary education as an adequate base from which to pursue their social change agendas” (p. 145). They questioned the extent to which service-learning had been preserved as a “radical pedagogy” or adapted for survival in the mainstream of higher education. Some worried that as the service-learning field matured it lost its political edge and shifted its focus from the community to students and the various agendas of higher education institutions.

Instrumental in the development of the service-learning movement was the establishment of Campus Compact, a consortium of college and university presidents, mostly from elite institutions who were interested in reinvigorating civic engagement among students. Campus Compact was founded in 1985 and many of the pioneers were concerned about how “service” was being constructed in this initiative. While it was important to include the voices of elite institutions such as Brown, Stanford, and Georgetown, those leading the initiative were talking about service without any mention of how students might learn from these experiences or what type of preparation they needed in order to serve effectively. Some of the pioneers were concerned that this initiative would jeopardize all of the work they had done over the years to promote the concept of service and learning as complementary and necessary components of effective civic engagement and social change. However, through their leadership they were able to influence Campus Compact to adopt service-learning as part of its vision (Stanton, 1990b).

The most prominent challenge the pioneers faced was the “intractable” culture of both their institutions and the academy in general. Most of them were frustrated that experiential learning was still viewed as second class and that faculty still viewed knowledge as something that they produced or held and should disseminate to students, particularly in high status research institutions. Social change and critical learning are difficult to integrate because they have been seen traditionally as discrete elements. Service-learning pedagogy can be unfamiliar to faculty with traditional values because

students and community members enter the curricular and knowledge terrain that used to belong solely to the faculty. One pioneer also cautioned that if service-learning is to become institutionalized, it needs to be based in academic affairs, not student affairs. Where experiential education could be housed to maximize legitimacy became a central concern for some. In reflecting on his work at Stanford, one pioneer said, "I had a feeling that service-learning, or whatever we called it, could grow at Stanford. There was a brand-new program. There was presidential support. I also thought that if I could make service-learning work at Stanford, that would make it safer for others to do this work elsewhere" (Stanton et al., 1999, p. 153). Initially, Stanford was deliberate about not using the words "service-learning" or "experiential learning" to avoid a "touchy-feeling" connotation that faculty might perceive from those terms, given service's new connection to academics. This description illustrates one possible path of diffusion in which a practice spreads to the core (becoming reinvented along the way), at which point it can become more legitimate for everyone else.

The pioneers provided some evidence that there might be status differentials among the different forms of experiential learning. For example, reportedly some of the pioneers were not advocates of service-learning because they perceived it to be too "exclusive"; in particular they saw it as being dominated by white students and primarily white male administrators and faculty. There seemed to be a greater need to reach out to community colleges to diffuse service-learning in that setting where there is a more diverse population of students.

What Stanton and his colleagues presented is a portrait of experiential learning that is far more complex than previously envisioned. Among practitioners, there is a lack of consensus about how service-learning is defined and practiced and who should determine the services provided. In analyzing the future of service-learning, Stanton et al. (1999) reported that the pioneers called for "attention to clarification and debate of varied purposes and definitions that exist in service-learning. This is needed to strengthen the field and connect it more effectively with related efforts to reform postsecondary education" (p. 243).

All three historical studies of the field reviewed here found that experiential learning has proliferated, yet still remains on the margins of higher education to some

extent. Stanton et al (1999) and Gamson (1989) pointed out evidence of stratification as Ivy Leagues and other high status institutions have been slow to join the experiential learning movement and as some perceived service-learning in particular to be “exclusive” and dominated by the white majority. There was evidence that experiential learning was co-opted by elite institutions and supporting organizations in all three histories. Pollack (1997) discussed how service-learning became curricularized as it was adopted by higher education institutions. Gamson (1989) described threats of co-optation by various stakeholders as CAEL was in its initial stages of development. Stanton et al (1999) described how some pioneers felt that service-learning educators sold out the original vision of service-learning as it was adapted to higher education. The focus of each study suggests the need for a systematic and in-depth examination of the *different forms* of experiential learning in order to understand better the ways in which particular forms of experiential learning, such as service-learning, are legitimized.

Organizational Studies

In addition to these broader historical studies of the fields of experiential learning and service-learning, there are two studies that focused particularly on experiential learning at Stanford, which are worth reviewing. In 1979, Michael Gose conducted a study of curricular changes within the Stanford Workshops on Political and Social Issues (SWOPSI), which is part of the Stanford case study. Gose studied five specific developments during the first seven years of SWOPSI’s existence, including its origins, two controversial proposed courses, the development of clinical workshops, and the Program’s proposed closure during 1975. The study was framed through an organizational perspective that analyzed the relationships among the following organizational subsystems: norms, the environment, structure, goals, and the curriculum. Gose concluded that these organizational subsystems were interdependent in terms of curricular change. Although the focus of his study was clearly on SWOPSI, he did not consider other experiential learning efforts that were going on during this same time frame at Stanford and how those other activities did or did not influence SWOPSI. Because of the time frame in which he wrote his dissertation, his study ended with 1976, which leaves out a considerable portion of the history of SWOPSI, leading up to its elimination in 1991.

Anna Waring's (1995) study of organizational change focused on the promotion of public service at Brown University, Georgetown University, and Stanford University. These institutions shared a unique relationship in that their presidents co-founded Campus Compact in 1985. Waring selected these three universities because they were considered nationally to be exemplars of promoting public service on their campuses during the late 1980s. She incorporated three different conceptions of change to explain how public service had evolved: planned change that occurs intentionally by a change agent; political/conflict change that occurs as the result of negotiation among competing actors with competing interests; and environmental change as a result of external forces that influence the actions of those within the universities. At Stanford, she found that support for public service was more the result of planned change initiated by President Donald Kennedy than change that was the result of political conflict or external pressure. Although perhaps a function of the study's time frame, Waring's case study did not address explicitly ideological differences about linking public service with either social change or academics.

In 2002, a group of administrators and faculty at Cornell wrote a summary of Cornell's history of service-learning and civic engagement (Rawlings, Firebaugh, Murphy, and Peters, 2002). The authors described Cornell's rich history with regard to service and civic-oriented activities, particularly activities in the statutory colleges, which are accountable to the State of New York. Although they provided a very comprehensive history and highlighted a number of factors that led to the demise of the Field Study Office, some of the political nuances of the history were missing.

The authors concluded the chapter by asserting Cornell's commitment to civic engagement and describing the boundaries in which that could occur:

Cornell is committed to reinvigorating its public purpose and civic mission and supporting a national movement devoted to strengthening higher education's role as a 'vital agent and architect of a flourishing democracy.' Service learning is an important part of pursuing a robust civic mission. Yet, as the university explores ways to deepen and intensify its civic engagement, the effort must be undertaken with the reality that not all parts of the institution can be or will be involved. The large size of the institution, the range of disciplines, the emphasis on discovery and research, and the scale of the local community define the limitations (Rawlings, et al. 2002, p. 105.).

They added that despite the rich inventory of civic and service activities on campus, these activities remain largely uncoordinated. The authors described ways in which Cornell plans to institutionalize civic engagement, including appointing a tenured or tenure track faculty member to lead the Public Service Center (PSC). However, as described in the case study in Chapter 3, initial attempts to have faculty-directed leadership of the PSC have been unsuccessful thus far.

Institutionalizing Experiential Learning

Although legitimacy and institutionalization are not necessarily synonymous, they certainly are concepts that are related closely. The research on institutionalizing experiential learning and service-learning is sparse. In a large-scale study of institutionalizing service-learning in 45 colleges and universities, researchers found that the strongest predictor for institutionalizing service-learning on campuses was faculty involvement and support (Bell, Ammon, Muller, and Sorgen, 2000). Faculty involvement was predicated on institutional rewards and incentives that support service-learning. In addition, Bell et al. (2000) found that the most effective way to link faculty with service-learning was to connect with faculty research work.

Barbara Holland (1999) described several elements that were important to influencing faculty involvement in public service. These elements were derived from her work with several national research and evaluation projects about public service at thirty-two diverse higher education institutions. The relevant elements are: clear mission; infrastructure support; faculty development; incentives and rewards for faculty; self-selection of faculty; the role of curriculum and service-learning; community involvement and partnerships; and budgeting and planning. Barriers to faculty involvement include: time; resources; language ambiguity around service; lack of experience with skills and techniques; reward systems; and weak institutional leadership and commitment to public service.

Kelly Ward conducted one of the few qualitative, organizational level studies on institutionalization of service-learning. In her case studies of five higher education institutions in Montana, she found that institutions that were tightly coupled, meaning “institutions that make centralized decisions and share governance” (Ward, 1996, p. 55), were more likely to institutionalize service-learning than those that were more loosely

coupled. Her data analysis led to three recurrent themes that are indicators of institutionalization: 1. faculty participation; 2. funding; and 3. leadership for service-learning. Since all five case study institutions were members of Campus Compact, her study included an examination of the influence of Campus Compact on institutionalization. Her findings showed that faculty often resisted service-learning because it was perceived of as the "President's program," because historically Campus Compact has been an association of college and university presidents. She noted that presidential support varied across the five case studies, and on some campuses the administration committed to service-learning publicly but did not provide resources with which to operationalize it. With regard to the one research university in her study, she found that the mandate for faculty to engage in research and publication was a barrier to engaging in service-learning, given the role and reward system in research universities. Although her data collection sample was small (she interviewed only 43 informants across the five institutions), the themes in her findings confirmed findings in other studies.

A number of the publications about institutionalization of service-learning in higher education are prescriptive in nature (Kendall, Duley, Little, Permaul, and Rubin, 1986; Bringle and Hatcher, 1996; Ward, 1998; Driscoll and Lynton, 1999). Furco (2001) provided a set of strategies for advancing service-learning particularly in *research universities*. These prescriptions included: Linking service-learning with faculty research; linking service-learning to the institutional mission; and connecting service-learning with the disciplines.

Hollander, Saltmarsh, and Zlotkowski (2001) created indicators to measure campus civic engagement. These indicators of civic engagement consist of the following activities, policies, and structures:

1. Pedagogy and epistemology (i.e., gaining knowledge through experience)
2. Faculty development (i.e., faculty are supported and trained for engagement)
3. Enabling mechanisms (i.e., structures to assist faculty and the community)
4. Internal resource allocation
5. External resource allocation
6. Faculty roles and rewards (i.e., promotion and tenure guidelines reflect engagement)
7. Disciplines, departments, interdisciplinarity (i.e., community-based education exists both within and across disciplines and departments)
8. Community voice (i.e., community participants are involved in engagement)

9. Administrative and academic leadership (i.e., president, provost and trustees visibly support civic engagement)
10. Mission and purpose (i.e., mission articulates commitment to civic responsibility)

The authors offered this framework based on their collective experiences with higher education institutions and called for testing this framework empirically. They acknowledged that few, if any, campuses will have all ten indicators.

In her review of the literature on institutional and organizational issues related to service-learning, Holland (2000) asserted that assessing institutional impacts of service-learning is challenging because unclear usage of language around service makes it difficult to know what to assess. During early adoption of service-learning, this ambiguity serves most institutions well as it allows them to adapt the practice to fit their culture and mission. In the long run, however, this ambiguity can make institutionalization on a macro level problematic.

Holland defined various areas of research that need to be pursued in order to understand better the institutional and organizational impacts of service-learning. Several of those areas are relevant to this study. She asked, "Why do institutions that seem similar along many dimensions take on very different levels of commitment to service-learning?" (2000, p. 3). She also asked what role community context and external forces and pressures have on institutionalizing service-learning. My case studies of two research universities allow for comparison of both similarities (i.e., research context), and differences (i.e., geographical context; land grant versus private). Given the academic nature of service-learning, Holland called for further research in understanding the roles that academic departments play in institutionalizing service-learning. This study analyzes structural and ideological implications of service-learning's connection with academics.

Despite the small body of literature on institutionalizing experiential learning, these initial studies point to certain factors that are important to institutionalizing service-learning. In particular, faculty involvement is critical; in order for faculty to engage in service-learning, it is important to try to link the activities to their research and offer appropriate incentives and rewards for engagement. In addition, integrating service-learning within and across disciplines is an important strategy. Providing resources to initiate and sustain programs is critical as well. In order for service-learning to spread

institution-wide, it needs to become part of the institution's broader mission and administrators need to provide leadership for it.

The body of literature on institutionalizing service-learning continues to grow as service-learning becomes more widespread throughout higher education. A majority of publications are prescriptive or focus on large-scale studies. However, these frameworks and findings from the large-scale findings can be used to explore institutionalization at the organizational level, which would contribute to the knowledge base about the importance of context in developing and sustaining service-learning and other forms of experiential learning.



CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH DESIGN

OVERVIEW

While history by itself provides a rich account of events over time, it can be augmented by the application of theoretical perspectives in order to understand the factors that have influenced a given course of events. Scott (1995) describes the need for more historical research in institutional theory since this type of work allows researchers to look at varied institutional contexts over time. Since this study is concerned with the diffusion and legitimacy of experiential learning, the new institutionalism in organizational theory is central to the conceptual framework for this study. The chapter begins with an overview of institutional theory, recent developments in the new institutionalism, theoretical integration of perspectives on agency and interest, and an overview of the conceptual framework that is used to guide the analysis and findings from this study. The previous chapter provided an overview of the context of the experiential learning field. This chapter will include a literature review of relevant aspects of the contexts of the external environment and research universities.

INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

The new institutionalism in organizational theory focuses on the ways in which actors construct meaning by adopting and adapting taken-for-granted norms, beliefs, and values that exist in society (Scott, 1998; Powell and DiMaggio, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977). This perspective is useful particularly for understanding the ways in which higher education institutions come to construct what are “legitimate” activities in their settings. Institutional theory is based on the assumptions of the open systems perspective, which emphasizes the extent to which environments shape or infiltrate organizations (Scott, 1998). Early institutional theorists such as Selznick (1957) and Berger and Luckmann (1967) introduced the idea that institutions are the products of social forces and that institutionalization occurs as routinized behavior and practices over time become taken-for-granted and infused with value beyond what is technically required (Scott, 1995). The new institutionalism focuses on the roles that cultural rule systems and taken-for-granted norms

and symbols play in shaping organizations. The external environment is viewed as both influencing and being influenced by institutions (Meyer, 1977; Zucker, 1977; Scott, 1995). Institutional theory is useful particularly for understanding how norms and beliefs define what is legitimate practice in educational systems (Meyer, 1977; Meyer and Rowan, 1978).

One of the key mechanisms for institutionalization and legitimation is isomorphic change, through which organizations become more similar over time (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). There are three types of isomorphic change: 1. coercive isomorphism that is politically driven; 2. mimetic isomorphism that occurs when organizations operate in environmental uncertainty; and 3. normative isomorphism that is driven by professionalization. While these definitions reflect distinct types, the boundaries among them often blur as institutional change occurs. Meyer and Rowan (1977) make explicit links between the processes that lead to institutional isomorphism and the acquisition of legitimacy. They emphasize that practices are often mimicked for the sake of legitimacy regardless of whether or not those practices will make the organization more efficient.

As experiential learning has spread to higher education in general, evidence of all three types of isomorphism exist. For example, the state of California has recently mandated that the California State Universities adopt a system-wide requirement for all students to participate in service-learning before they graduate. As society calls for a renewal of civic participation among higher education institutions, many colleges and universities have sought to adopt service-learning, often looking to the leaders in the field to emulate models. Stanford's Haas Center for Public Service is cited frequently as a legitimate model to mimic. As the service-learning field has evolved, the norms of best practices in the field have been diffused through professional networks and associations. Likewise, several disciplinary associations have embraced and promoted service-learning within their respective disciplines.

Despite isomorphic tendencies in the environment, the practices that diffuse must originate from a primary source or set of sources. As will be described in the case study chapters, Stanford in particular was considered a leader in the field in developing the service-learning practice; therefore many of the programs and initiatives were described as "homegrown" rather than mimicked. Likewise, there were clearly relationships between Stanford and Cornell as certain experiential learning professionals moved between the two

universities. Individual leaders were crucial to diffusing experiential learning both within and between each university. One of the challenges entrepreneurs face in trying to grow experiential learning is a “liability of newness,” with few precedents with which to establish legitimacy (Freeman, Carroll, and Hannan, 1983; Suchman, 1995). Suchman maintains that during the process of legitimation, these actors “may need to disentangle new activities from certain preexisting regimes, in which the activities would seem marginal, ancillary, or illegitimate” (1995, p. 586). This disentanglement may be substantive, symbolic, or both.

Developments in the New Institutionalism: Institutions and Agency

While earlier conceptions of the new institutionalism emphasized homogeneity, persistence, stability, and inertia (Kraatz and Zajac, 1996), developments in institutional theory over the past decade have allowed for more change and heterogeneity in understanding how organizations shape and are shaped by their institutional environments. Institutional theorists have argued that institutions both constrain and enable actors and organizations and that earlier formulations of institutional theory have focused too much on passivity (DiMaggio, 1988; Jepperson, 1991). While macro-institutionalism explains broader conceptions about how practices and beliefs in certain fields are legitimated, it fails to account for the fine details about the mechanisms that shape legitimacy and also does not account for multiple conceptions of legitimacy that might conflict in a given context.

A Political Perspective: Agency and Exchange Processes

According to March and Olsen (1976), “Macro theorists of social process rarely feel required to consider the details of organizational phenomena” (p. 16). What is missing from macro-institutional perspectives are substantive explanations for how practices diffuse at the local level (i.e. within individual campuses, departments, etc.) and why research universities would adopt practices that are perceived generally as marginal. In contrast to this macro perspective, organizations operate under multiple, often conflicting, goals with actors who have multiple, often conflicting, interests (Cohen and March, 1974; Cohen, March, and Olsen, 1972).

Recent developments in the new institutionalism support the view that institutional theory and theories of agency and interest can be complementary to provide a more complete theory of institutions. In particular, agency is an important component to

understanding the “origins, reproduction and erosion of institutionalized practices and organizational forms” (DiMaggio, 1988, p. 11). Theories of interest and agency also provide insights about the *process* of institutionalization, whereas macro-institutional theory is more explanatory of institutionalization as an *outcome*. According to DiMaggio (1988):

Institutional theory tells us relatively little about ‘institutionalization’ as an unfinished process (as opposed to an achieved state), about where institutions come from, why some organizational innovations diffuse while others do not, and why innovations vary in their rate and ultimate extent of diffusion. Institutional theory tells us even less about deinstitutionalization: why and how institutionalized forms and practices fall into disuse (p. 12).

Since Stanford and Cornell had certain forms of experiential learning that “failed,” the details about their delegitimation are important to understanding the process by which it happened.

DiMaggio (1988) sought to clarify the role of interest and agency in institutional theory, given the theory’s explicit departure from rational-actor theories. He states that institutional theory focuses on, “the taken-for-granted nature of organizational forms and practices, on precisely those aspects of organization that are unaffected by the particular interests of politically conceived actors” (p. 4). According to DiMaggio, actors are constrained by norms and taken-for-granted assumptions about the nature of organizational reality; these constraints make actors unlikely to act on or even recognize their interests. In addition, ambiguous goals, fluid participation and unclear technologies limit actors’ abilities to recognize the relationship between actions and outcomes, further constraining them (Cohen and March, 1974).

Macro perspectives on institutional theory do take interests into account when those interests are considered universal. For example, the desire to create or maintain predictability in organizations or maintain organizational survival are universal interests (DiMaggio, 1988). Another way in which theories of interest can complement the institutional perspective is “the premise that changes that jeopardize entrenched parochial interests are less likely to diffuse widely than are those that jeopardize fewer interests or interests of less powerful actors;” therefore, allowing that change involving less legitimate practices can occur on the margins (DiMaggio, 1988, p. 9).

Introducing change and change agents into conceptions about institutional processes helps account for the processes of diffusion and legitimation that occur at the organizational level. According to DiMaggio (1988), “institutionalization as a *process* is profoundly political and reflects the relative power of organized interests and actors who mobilize around them” (p. 12) (in Pollack, 1997). DiMaggio introduces the concept of “institutional entrepreneurs” as influential actors within and outside of the institution that play important roles in shaping institutions. He states, “...institutionalization is a product of the political efforts of actors to accomplish their ends and that the success of an institutionalization project and the form that the resulting institution takes depend on the relative power of the actors who support, oppose, or otherwise strive to influence it” (p. 13). Indeed institutional entrepreneurs, such as professional associations or experiential educators who introduce experiential learning on their campuses, must get a critical mass of supporters in order for the practice to diffuse and become institutionalized. The process is political as entrepreneurs face resistance and must bargain for resources. Because of these barriers, Zucker (1988) adds that complete institutionalization of innovations is not very common; innovations more often result in passing fads than real social change.

A political perspective is particularly salient to understanding how decisions are made in academic organizations (Baldrige, 1971). This perspective assumes that higher education institutions are characterized inherently by conflict, differential power, and multiple interest groups. A political perspective diverges from rational decision models in that goals and decision making are seen as ambiguous and problematic. The political process of institutionalization helps provide an organizational level perspective on how and why different forms of experiential learning have evolved over time and why its institutionalization often has been incomplete.

Resource Dependence

Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) provide a political perspective on how organizations respond and adapt to demands and constraints from the external environment. From a resource dependence perspective, an organization’s survival is contingent on its ability to adapt to the environment; specifically, it is contingent on its ability to obtain needed resources from the environment (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). The more dependent an organizational unit is and the more scarce the resources are, the less power it has. Many

experiential learning programs depend on external and internal funding sources for survival, making the environment in which they operate uncertain. Even many “institutionalized” experiential learning programs and centers rely on external funding for a large percentage of their operating budgets.

Oliver (1991) criticizes the macro-institutional perspective because it fails to account for how change occurs in organizations, and she provides the alternative view that organizations can be strategic within an institutionalized environment. She contends that institutional and resource dependence perspectives can be combined to analyze strategic responses to institutional processes. She provides a useful description of points of convergence and divergence between the two perspectives and is one of the first organizational theorists to propose explicitly the integration of these theories. In particular, she points out that institutional theorists view organizations as engaging in passive “nonchoice behavior” while resource dependence theorists see organizations as engaging in “active choice behavior” (Oliver, 1991, p. 147). Therefore, from a resource dependence perspective various actors in the academy make strategic choices in light of institutional pressures. However, the institutional perspective is still important for understanding how ideological norms and values of higher education play a significant role in shaping the form that experiential learning eventually takes. In particular, the history and context of experiential learning and the development of the modern university from an institutional perspective are important for understanding the arenas in which political processes take place.

Co-optation

A possible explanation for the diffusion of experiential learning to and within research universities, from a political perspective, is co-optation (Selznick, 1966; March, 1988; 1994; Krieger, 1979). According to Selznick (1966), organizations will absorb other entities (including lower status actors) through co-optation in order to build legitimacy and mitigate resistance. For example, in Stanton et al.’s (1999) history of the service-learning field, some early service-learning educators felt that service-learning has been co-opted by higher education institutions. As research universities have received pressure from the external environment to focus on civic engagement, there is some evidence that they have co-opted leaders in the field of service-learning to bring this practice to their campuses.

Doing so brought legitimacy given recent external pressures to focus on civic engagement; however, since community-centered service-learning did not fit readily into the culture and mission of institutions such as research universities, it was reframed for a more legitimate fit. This reconstruction can be seen on campuses where the focus on service-learning has shifted from creating social change to developing a stronger curriculum and engaging students in research-- more legitimate activities for research universities.

March (1994; 1988) views co-optation as an exchange that results between “the successful” who occupy top-level positions and “the ambitious” who strive to be at the top of the hierarchy. There are particular trade-offs associated with each actor who chooses whether or not to cooperate. For the successful, the choice resides in whether to share some of their power or to risk being challenged for the top position in the hierarchy. The ambitious forfeit possible occupancy at the top by sharing the power for an improved position in the hierarchy. What is important to note about March’s (1994) perspective on co-optation is that “Ambitious people set themselves in opposition to the establishment in order to increase their value, but in the course of doing so they transform their preferences and identities” (p. 116). This perspective resonates with what Pollack (1997), Gamson (1989), and Stanton et al. (1999) saw as experiential learning’s co-optation by higher education and a transformation of how the practice became operationalized. As they noted, although experiential learning moved up and within the higher education status hierarchy, it did so at certain costs.

While Selznick accounts for institutions co-opting and being co-opted, he does not address the process of co-optation by the larger society. In her study on the co-optation of a San Francisco radio station, Susan Krieger (1979) describes co-optation as “a process in which an organization, once viewed as new and different and at odds with prevailing practice, comes over time to adopt ways of a larger society which are viewed as corrupting. The organization is said to have sold out, to have lost some of its original virtue” (p. 168). In the case of experiential learning, this perspective on co-optation reflects how the transformations of experiential education during this process reflected larger trends and values in society (e.g., trends toward vocationalization or civic engagement).

Diffusion of Innovations

Institutional theory is related closely to research about the diffusion and legitimation of innovations (Strang and Meyer, 1994; Scott, 1998, personal communication). Rogers (1983) provides a review of the diffusion of innovation research that can be found across many disciplines. He defines innovativeness as “the degree to which an individual or other unit of adoption is relatively earlier in adopting new ideas than the other members of a system” (p. 22). Empirical studies on diffusion came primarily out of the rural sociology tradition until about the mid-1960s and focused on the diffusion of agricultural innovation. The study of the diffusion of hybrid seed corn by Ryan and Gross (1943) was a seminal study that influenced strongly the methodology, theoretical frameworks, and interpretations of subsequent diffusion researchers. This study was quantitative, as were most others in the sociological tradition. Ryan and Gross researched which variables were related to innovativeness, the rate of adoption, the factors that explain the rate of adoption, and the role that communication channels play at different stages of the diffusion process (Rogers, 1983). Later studies on diffusion came primarily out of the fields of communication and marketing.

Rogers (1983) summarizes some of the consistent findings of diffusion research from his meta-analysis. The sociological and educational traditions of research found that the distribution of adopters rises slowly in the initial stages and maximizes diffusion when half of the adopters have adopted; diffusion occurs more slowly as the last of the adopters adopt. Diffusion has a normal adoption distribution since knowledge about the innovation increases through networks as it is adopted widely. Diffusion also can be viewed as a learning process in which the innovation is refined as it becomes adopted more widely and adapted. This process explains why later adopters wait until innovators and early adopters have experimented with and refined the innovation.

When considering organizations as the unit of analysis, Rogers (1983) found that larger, well-resourced, and decentralized organizations were more innovative, however, there was a negative relationship between degree of formalization in organizations and innovativeness. There is some evidence that these findings do not account for the characteristics of innovators and early adopters of some forms of experiential learning. In the case of internships and cooperative education, it appears that in general the innovators

and early adopters were less prestigious institutions and typically had fewer resources (Gamson, 1989).

One important aspect of the evolution of diffusion research is the acknowledgement that a certain amount of *reinvention* occurs during the process of diffusion (Charters and Pellegrin, 1972; Rice and Rogers, 1980; Rogers, 1983). This recognition has important methodological implications in that researchers are now finding it important to study adoption at the *implementation* stage to see how an individual or organization adapts an innovation. One consequence of reinvention is that the innovation is less likely to be discontinued since adopters can adapt the practice to fit to their particular needs and environments, as is often the case with co-optation. Innovations are more likely to be reinvented when they are complex, when knowledge about the innovation is ambiguous or incomplete, when the innovation can serve a wide range of purposes, and when adopters want to claim the innovation as a local one (Rogers, 1983). The lack of consensus about definitions of different forms of experiential learning as well as its multiple purposes indicate the possibility that the practice is often reinvented as it diffuses.

An important aspect of diffusion research deals with trying to understand the characteristics of innovators, early adopters, and late adopters. In his meta-analysis of diffusion research, Rogers (1983) characterized early adopters as having high social status and slack resources to buffer the uncertainty of adoption. This pattern seems to fit the recent resurgence of service-learning; those initially involved in Campus Compact were high status, highly resourced institutions (i.e., Stanford, Georgetown, and Brown Universities). Later adopters of innovations, on the other hand, tended to have lower social and economic status and adopted practices in order to avoid falling behind their competitors. This pattern, which is described as the classic center-periphery diffusion model, views innovation as originating from some centralized, legitimate source and diffusing out to the periphery. Rogers (1983) comments that "New ideas usually enter a system through higher status and more innovative members" (p. 275).

Schön (1971) argues that while this model fits some cases of diffusion, it fails to account for diffusion that occurs in other patterns. In some cases, innovation occurs at a lower point within the system and diffuses in a more decentralized fashion. In a decentralized diffusion model, reinvention is high as innovations are adopted locally

through networks. Schön's description of an alternative to the central-periphery model is limited, however, to horizontal diffusion. The centralized, decentralized, and hybrid models that Rogers and Schön describe all fail to account substantively for the diffusion of innovations from the periphery to the core.

Czarniawska and Goerges (1998) allow for multiple explanations for the spread of ideas. The authors point out that historical accounts of diffusion can be problematic because "It might well be that, in the reconstruction of the past, an event is chosen or invented because it is rhetorically convenient (a logical starting point for a story that is being told)" (p. 209). They see this social construction (or reconstruction) of the "travel of ideas" as a variation on the garbage can model of decision making (Cohen, March, and Olsen, 1972), in that choices, problems, goals, and decision makers are loosely coupled. This idea is similar to Olsen's (1976) review of non-decision models of choice, in which "decisions" are *post factum* constructions by organizational participants (p. 83). These concepts are useful for understanding the limitations of an historical, qualitative study.

Most of the early diffusion studies use the individual as the unit of analysis in measuring adoption; however, there has been a growing body of research since the 1960s on *organizational* adoption of innovations. In particular, the past two decades have seen a proliferation of diffusion studies from the sociological tradition of institutional theory (Scott, 1995). Researchers in this tradition use organizations as the unit of analysis; they view diffusion as an indicator of the strength of institutionalization of a practice. For example, Hannan and Carroll (1992) used an ecological perspective in their study of populations of newspaper agencies to argue that the higher the density of a particular organizational form the more legitimate it is. Zucker (1989) criticizes this approach by asserting that Hannan and Carroll's methods do not measure legitimacy directly (Scott, 1995).

A particular line of diffusion research in institutional theory focuses on the social relations between the diffusers and adopters, rather than on the innovation itself. In their study of the diffusion of civil service reforms, Tolbert and Zucker (1983) examined two different diffusion processes: one in which cities were mandated to implement reforms and one in which the decision to adopt was decentralized to the cities themselves. They found that reforms diffused more rapidly in those cities mandated to reform. Those cities were

operating under regulative pressures whereas non-mandated cities adopted reforms because of the normative pressures associated with reform movements. They concluded that early adopters responded out of self-interest, whereas later adopters responded to conform to prevailing belief systems in civil service. Scott (1995), however, critiques this work by saying that the researchers' arguments are based on weak correlations.

One of the main problems associated with organizational-level studies is that relying on data from a handful of top leaders typically paints a biased picture of the organization's behavior with regard to an innovation. Rogers (1983) recommends a multiple-respondent, multiple-measurement study to capture more adequately the dynamics that exist within an organization, which makes case studies a desirable method for studying the diffusion of innovations.

According to Rogers (1983), several general biases of diffusion studies were examined beginning in the 1970s. He comments that because of the overwhelmingly advantageous nature of hybrid corn, the Ryan and Gross study led to a "pro-innovation" bias inadvertently in subsequent research and a lack of more critical evaluation of advantages and disadvantages of innovations. For example, in studies suffering from pro-innovation bias, researchers assume that innovations are highly advantageous and should be adopted rapidly and without transformation of the innovation. One reason for this bias is that it is much easier for researchers to track and measure successful diffusion versus failed diffusion (Rogers, 1983). In order to address this potential source for bias, the case studies selected for this study provide examples of both successful and failed attempts at institutionalizing experiential learning. Also, cross-sectional data on adoption do not explain *why* adoption occurs. By using historical analysis of the diffusion of experiential learning, I illuminate some of the dynamics around how and why experiential learning has diffused.

Understanding Legitimacy

Suchman (1995) notes that organizational researchers tend to utilize the concept of legitimacy without really defining it. Much like DiMaggio (1988) and Oliver (1991), he posits that institutional theory and strategic approaches to understanding and institutionalizing organizations can be complementary. Suchman uses the following definition of legitimacy, which I adopt in this study:

Legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions (Suchman, 1995, p. 574).

Legitimacy seeking strategies are employed typically to seek continuity and credibility. Organizations seek persistence since it enhances their ability to obtain resources based on their long-term desirability or appropriateness (Suchman, 1995). For example, the link between legitimacy and resources is illustrated by the increasing number of alumni and donors who have seen public service as a legitimate activity in higher education and choose to provide funding for public service over other activities in a university.

From a strategic perspective, legitimacy serves as a resource that enables an organization to achieve its goals. Universities can use the legitimacy of public service to respond to criticisms about lack of civic engagement (Ehrlich, 2000). The strategic perspective is important also to recognizing the role that leaders within organizations play in creating legitimacy. "...At the margin, managerial initiatives can make a substantial difference in the extent to which organizational activities are perceived as desirable, proper, and appropriate within any given cultural context" (Suchman, 1995, p. 586). Combining strategic and institutional perspectives provides a more detailed perspective from which to understand legitimacy at both the micro and macro levels. I employ this dualistic approach in this study to show how legitimacy is both a "manipulable resource" at the organizational level and a taken-for-granted belief system in the institutional environment (Suchman, 1995, p. 577).

Suchman describes several main strategies for gaining legitimacy. The first strategy is to conform to environments, thereby not challenging preexisting institutional logics. A common form of conformity is mimetic isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). A second strategy is for actors to select environments that will grant the organization legitimacy without making substantive changes. This strategy allows actors to "locate a more amicable venue, in which otherwise dubious activities appear unusually desirable, proper, or appropriate" (Suchman, 1995, p. 589). Given experiential learning's close link to education, its spread has been contained primarily to educational institutions; however, entrepreneurs have been strategic about where to locate it within universities. A third, and less common, strategy is to manipulate environments, which assumes explicit

agency in the legitimation process. Innovators often must manipulate environments and develop support for the innovation actively, particularly if the innovation departs from standard practice. Once strategic legitimacy has been obtained, cognitive legitimacy becomes more important as collective action is needed for the innovative practice to spread and become taken-for-granted.

Once legitimacy has been obtained, its maintenance presents a challenge as well. Several aspects of legitimacy make its maintenance problematic. The heterogeneity of audiences and fluid participation of organizational participants (Cohen and March, 1974) make it difficult to maintain support internally and externally. The stability that results from acquiring legitimacy can lead to rigidity and difficulty in responding to shifts in the environment. "If organizations become homogeneous while cultural environments remain heterogeneous, unsatisfied demands will create niches for 'outlaw' entrepreneurs, who devise and adopt innovative, albeit peripheral, organizational forms" (Suchman, 1995, p. 594). Finally, institutionalization can generate its own opposition on ideological grounds or because the institutionalization of organizations creates external constraints.

According to Meyer and Rowan (1977), "Organizations fail when they deviate from the prescriptions of institutionalizing myths," and "organizations which innovate in important structural ways bear considerable costs in legitimacy" (p. 34). This loss in legitimacy must be accounted for in some way. One way in which higher status institutions can afford such a loss is that they have a certain amount of surplus in legitimacy by virtue of their status. Hollander (1958) referred to such surplus as "idiosyncrasy credits," which he defines as "the degree to which an individual may deviate from the common expectancies of the group. In this view, each individual within a group...for the moment-- may be thought of as having a degree of group-awarded credits such as to permit idiosyncratic behavior in certain dimensions *before* group sanctions are applied" (p. 120). This legitimacy surplus and allowance for idiosyncratic behavior can help account for how individuals in higher status institutions are able to adopt practices, such as experiential learning, in an environment where more traditional forms of education are legitimized.

Another way in which higher status institutions can adopt practices legitimately that are perceived as marginal, is by adapting and reframing practices to align more closely with their norms and values. In this case, neo-institutional theory might help explain "how

organizations develop socially acceptable accounts to justify actions of questionable institutional legitimacy” (Kraatz and Zajac, 1996, p. 833). For example, some elite institutions have reframed service-learning geared toward social change to fit more closely with their mission to develop civic-minded students. Using service-learning as a vehicle to develop citizens is more legitimate within the context of higher education than using service-learning to effect social change.

THE ACADEMIC CONTEXT

Professional Bureaucracies

Mintzberg (1979) characterizes the basic structure of universities as a “professional bureaucracy,” which is a highly decentralized structure in which work in the operating core is controlled through professionals who are highly trained and specialized. Professionals within this structure are granted a high level of autonomy and independence in their work (Scott, 1998). The power of expertise defines the authority of these professionals and the standards of the profession are created and driven largely by external professional associations that represent the disciplines. Clark (1983) contends that the academic profession is unique given its fragmentation of professions by disciplines, so that in any given university faculty would identify with their fields which vary from architecture to biology. Because of their academic identities, faculty have developed increasingly stronger connections with their disciplines and external interests than with the institution itself (Kerr, 1994). In this sense a political science professor will probably have a stronger professional allegiance with her discipline and the related professional associations than with her university colleagues in different departments.

Mintzberg (1979) notes a number of problems associated with diffusion of innovations in professional bureaucracies, particularly those that require faculty to work across disciplines. In general, innovation requires cooperation, which is often difficult to achieve given the independent nature of faculty work. Because of the decentralized nature of universities, Mintzberg believes that change is slow since most innovations must originate from bottom-up, which requires cooperation and consensus, compared with top-down edicts. He adds that whenever an entrepreneurial member of the university tries to implement innovation, “great political clashes inevitably ensue” (p. 72). When confronted

with problems, professionals are likely to “pigeon-hole” them into solutions that fit the existing institutional structure in order to maintain professional standards.

Stratification and Status

One of the unique aspects of the higher education system is its stratification both within the system along different sectors, and within individual institutions along disciplines, departments, and programs (Trow, 1984; Becher, 1981; Clark, 1984; Gamson, 1997). Within the higher education system, research universities are considered more elite than the other sectors of higher education (Ruscio, 1987). According to Fulton and Trow, “research activity in a research setting translates into institutional power” (Ruscio, 1987, p. 340). As a result, teaching often has become a “derivative activity” in research universities as scholarship has become defined narrowly as research (Rice, 1986, p. 13). Internal stratification among units in the institution has implications for where a marginalized activity such as experiential learning might be located and legitimized. For example, the legitimacy of experiential learning at Cornell was influenced by whether it was located within the College of Arts and Sciences, which has relatively high status, or within one of the statutory colleges, which some faculty viewed as the “stepchildren” of the University. Stratification can also exist on multiple levels. Some experiential learning programs that are resisted, reside in marginal locations within marginal colleges or units within a high status institution. Likewise, there is stratification within faculty ranks among tenured, tenure track and temporary faculty. Experiential learning courses are taught and supervised frequently by adjunct faculty, whom Rice characterizes as permanently underprivileged (1986).

Experiential learning is often found in interdisciplinary and more applied academic areas, particularly those that are friendly to social change and activism. In general, interdisciplinary, applied, and emerging academic areas are considered marginal compared with traditional disciplines (Rice, 1986). Although interdisciplinary programs gained popularity during the 1960s, many of them were eliminated during times of fiscal constraints that characterized the 1970s. In her 1990 study of feminist scholarship, Gumport states, “Although engaging in boundary-crossing may be rewarded academically as innovative or cutting edge, it becomes risky as a primary academic vocation, especially if the scholarship reflects a radical edge” (p. 231). The radical and activist nature of many

of these alternatives to traditional disciplines renders them problematic and presents barriers to legitimation. Innovative scholarship is often at odds with traditional roles and rewards established by the academy, and faculty who engage in this type of work tend to have less power and legitimacy within the institution. In addition, their status makes them more vulnerable during times of financial constraint (Gumport, 1993).

Professional autonomy and power in higher education has eroded somewhat since the 1990s as external constituents such as the state have become more central actors in academic decision making (Gumport, 1993). The early 1990s were characterized widely in higher education as a time of fiscal restraint and retrenchment. Academic legitimacy concerns were certainly part of the decision making process in which administrators and external constituents engaged.

Power of Organizational Participants

One of the implications of a stratified system of higher education is that the power dynamics among different organizational participants vary by institutional type. According to Cohen and March (1976), elite institutions with strong research reputations will have generally a more powerful faculty and a less powerful president and student body. In spite of this general principle, characteristics of the individual leader are important to consider as well. According to Kreiner (1976), "...actions that are illegitimate, and sanctioned as illegitimate, may nonetheless be tolerated if the leader has high standing in the group. Thus, illegitimate behavior may be particularly likely among highly-regarded and effective leaders" (p. 156). In a professional bureaucracy, decisions about academic policy are decentralized and reside primarily with the faculty, which explains the dominant legitimation strategy in the service-learning field to try to engage faculty. Over the past decade, decision making in universities has shifted increasingly from faculty to the administration as resources have become scarcer, particularly in public institutions (Gamson, 1997).

Organized Anarchies

According to Cohen and March (1974), universities can be characterized as "organized anarchies" in which decision making is often ambiguous. Organized anarchies have the following properties: 1. problematic goals, which are often unclear, conflicting, or contested; 2. unclear technologies, which means that processes are not fully understood;

and 3. fluid participation of organizational members with varying degrees of attention to problems and choices. The complexity of universities makes them the prototypical organized anarchy (Cohen and March, 1974). Goal ambiguity, in particular, makes for uncertainty in decision making. As Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker, and Riley (1977) note, academic organizations “often try to be all things to all people”(p. 3), and the long list of higher education’s goals is often social rhetoric. As a result of this ambiguity, “decisions are often by-products of unintended and unplanned activity” (Baldrige, et al., 1977, p. 8).

These complexities bear directly on how decisions are made in organizations. Cohen, March and Olsen (1972) developed a “Garbage Can Model” of decision making in which organizations are described as “a collection of choices looking for problems, issues and feelings looking for decision situations in which they might be aired, solutions looking for issues to which they might be the answer, and decision makers looking for work” (Cohen and March, 1974, p. 81). In the context of an organized anarchy, one could imagine that experiential learning is a solution that could be attached to one of many different problems: rejuvenating undergraduate education, improving town / gown relationships, preparing students to be active citizens, enhancing critical thinking, solving community problems, effecting social change, finding roles for faculty and staff who do not readily fit into traditional positions within the institution, etc. These “problems” vary by institution and are shaped by the interests of various actors within and outside of the institution. As the “solution” is adopted, it is often reframed to show that it addresses the particular problems to which actors have attached the solution. Typically, as actors face decisions, they are unsure of the outcomes of their decisions; they consider a few, limited alternatives; and their preferences change and surface at different points in time (Cohen and March, 1974). The definition of what is getting decided changes over time and participation in the decision-making process is often fluid. These are some of the dynamics I expected to find as I examined the process through which experiential learning has diffused to and within research universities.

In this study, experiential learning has diffused in organizations that operate in political environments where there are internal and external constituents with varying goals, preferences, and interests. Those interests relate to entrenched values and beliefs about what is a legitimate practice in higher education; contrary to what institutional

theorists espouse, those values and beliefs are sometimes diverse rather than shared. Even within the ranks of faculty, interests, values, and beliefs vary around experiential learning. For example, some faculty believe that experience should play little to no role in the classroom, while others believe that experience should be the foundation for students' learning experiences. Among experiential educators, some believe that service-learning should be used primarily to effect social change, while others believe that it should be used primarily as a vehicle to enhance critical thinking or citizenship development in students.

Similarly, as organizations operate within open systems (Scott, 1998), there is often divergence of goals and interests between internal and external constituents. For example, foundations who are willing to provide funding to the university might see extracurricular community service as a priority, whereas faculty often feel strongly about linking community service more closely to the curriculum or faculty research agendas. Universities whose primary focus is creating knowledge through research, are often at odds with the general public who demands that education be prioritized and made more relevant for undergraduates. The university simultaneously tries to satisfy one set of constituents without alienating the other. In the case of experiential learning, the way in which the university responds to various internal and external demands influences the extent to which experiential learning is adopted, co-opted, ignored, or rejected.

Jurisdiction and Professional Control

The professions are one of the great rationalizers of the past fifty years (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Professional groups and the government are the two major types of collective actors that generate institutional rules and provide an external source of legitimacy in society (Scott, 1998; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Hinings and Greenwood, 1988). Legitimacy within the academy is shaped most prominently by the academic profession and its jurisdiction over academic work (Abbott, 1988). The sociology of professions literature is related closely to institutional theory since the professions exert control over their work through cognitive and normative processes (Scott, 1995; Scott and Backman, 1990). According to Abbott (1988):

A jurisdictional claim made before the public is generally a claim for the control of a particular kind of work. This control means first and foremost a right to perform the work as professionals see fit. Along with the right to perform the work as it wishes, a profession normally also claims rights

to exclude other workers as deemed necessary, to dominate public definitions of the tasks concerned, and indeed to impose professional definitions of the tasks on competing professions (p. 60).

Abbott (1988) defines a system in which professions compete with one another for jurisdiction over a particular domain and argues that professionals establish jurisdiction over their work by developing a knowledge base and a claim to certain tasks. Universities themselves are legitimizers of professional expertise and knowledge.

Freidson analyzes the professions by trying to understand the link between formal knowledge and power and the institutions that mediate the two (1970; 1986). He describes a main characteristic of the organization of professional occupations as the differentiation of practitioners, administrators, and teacher-researchers. Because of this differentiation, there are differences in power within the divisions of the profession. Those in power are more influential in shaping the institutional environment. This dynamic is particularly relevant to understanding who participates in and oversees experiential learning.

Professionalization of the Academy

In their seminal text, "The Academic Revolution," Jencks and Riesman (1968) analyze the increasing power and professionalization of faculty members, which began in the 1940s. By the 1960s the revolution had been completed, with a highly professionalized faculty and the research university as the dominant form of higher education in terms of legitimacy. The academic revolution had served to differentiate the campus and disciplinary communities. As both a support and indicator of professionalization of the academy, federal support for university research increased significantly during the early 1960s until the 1970s (Geiger, 1990). The Academic Revolution reinforced the creation of knowledge without application or utility, building the image of the "Ivory Tower."

Challenges to the Professoriate

Given the context of how higher education was shaped by the Academic Revolution, Ernest Boyer, former President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, questioned the role of the professoriate in *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate* (1990). Specifically, Boyer questioned defining scholarship narrowly as discovery of new knowledge through basic research. Other changes during the current era that have challenged the role of the professoriate

include a shift in power back to higher education administration given times of fiscal constraint and restructuring (Gumport, 1993).

Although generalized broadly, higher education has been under pressure increasingly to be more responsive to society over the past two decades (Bok, 1986; Lynton and Elman, 1987; Boyer, 1990). At Cornell and Stanford, these pressures were evident as early as the late 1960s when students and faculty began demanding that scholarship and education focus more directly on solving society's problems. Making research more applied, interdisciplinary, and practical proved problematic, given the strong culture around basic research in the disciplines. As Russ Edgerton (2001) laments: "...beating the Russians in a technology race turns out to be easier than beating crime, welfare dependency, the drug culture and other problems on our national agenda."

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: MULTIPLE SPHERES OF LEGITIMACY

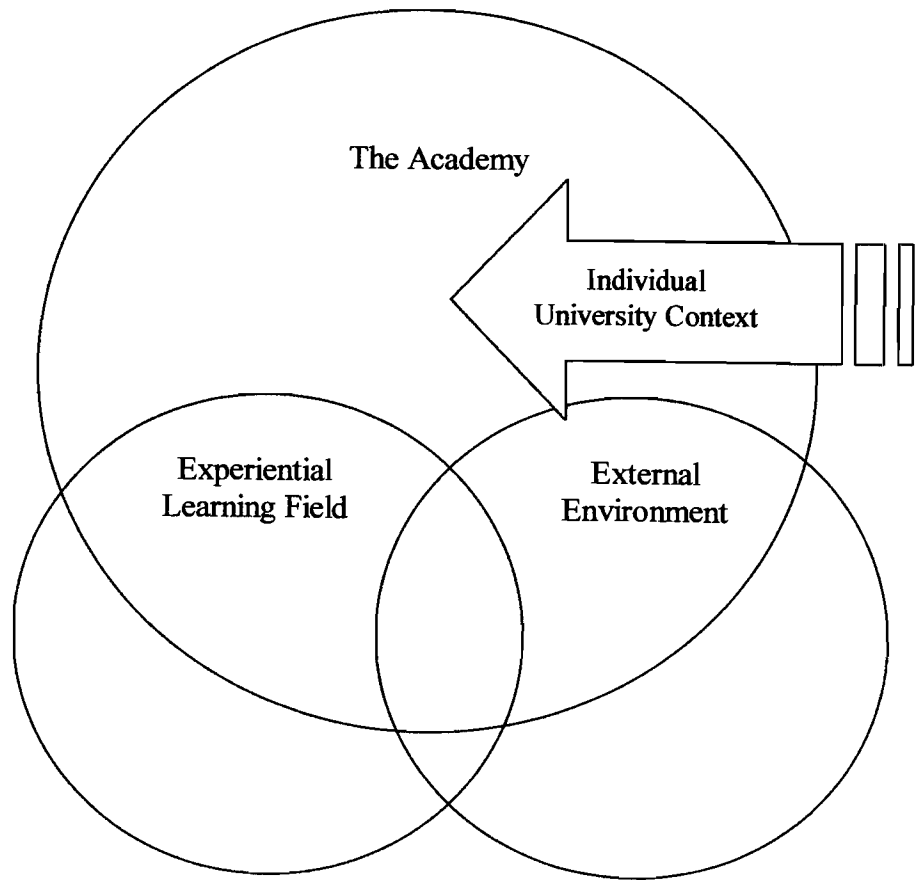
While experiential learning has been perceived historically as marginal in a research university context, such a broad view of legitimacy does not account fully for the external influences that have legitimized and de-legitimized *different forms* of experiential learning since the late 1960s. Therefore, I adopt both institutional and political perspectives to account for broader pressures and change that occurs at the organizational level. According to Scott (1998) this dual perspective is important for understanding organizations: “whereas organizations *exchange* elements with their technical environments, they are *constituted* by elements drawn from their institutional environments” (p. 211).

The conceptual framework in this study is used to “unpack” how the legitimacy of experiential learning is negotiated through various understandings of what constitutes legitimate experiential learning practice, what activities are legitimate within the academy, and society’s perceptions about the legitimate role of higher education. The framework in Figure 2.1 depicts how the history of the diffusion, institutionalization and de-institutionalization of experiential learning can be framed by considering the various spheres of legitimacy that interact to shape how experiential learning is understood and operationalized at the organizational level. Suchman asserts that “The multifaceted character of legitimacy implies that it will operate differently in different contexts, and how it works may depend on the nature of the problems for which it is the purported solution” (1995, p. 573).

The form of experiential learning and how it is legitimized and operationalized is shaped by the following three spheres of legitimacy: 1. the academy, 2. the external environment, and 3. the experiential learning field. Each of these three contexts constitutes unique perspectives on what makes for legitimate experiential learning and what are legitimate activities for research universities.

Figure 2.1

SPHERES OF LEGITIMACY



The Academy

This study assumes that research universities, as the settings for experiential learning in this study, are highly institutionalized environments given the professionalization of faculty and the institutional logic of research that pervades universities. Legitimacy in the academy is defined by institutional priorities and jurisdiction over different types of activities. These conceptions of legitimacy tend to be expressed through strategic use of language, structural responses, and resource allocation. While research universities exhibit inertial properties, they are shaped also by the external environment. Higher education's interaction with the external environment produces diverse, and sometimes conflicting, notions about legitimacy, which affects if, how and where experiential learning is adopted in research universities.

The External Environment

Since research universities are dependent on the government and other external constituents for a significant proportion of their resources, they must be responsive to those stakeholders. The complexity of research universities means that various stakeholders in the external environment have different notions about the legitimacy of the university's activities. These conceptions of legitimacy change over time as universities are shaped by social and political movements as well as the ebb and flow of calls for public accountability and relevance to society. In addition, research universities often reference their peer institutions to make sense of what are legitimate practices in that context.

The Experiential Learning Field

Finally, the principles of good practice in experiential learning are shaped primarily by experiential educators in the field. These principles are communicated through and reinforced by professional associations that focus on experiential learning. As the field evolves, so do notions about what forms of experiential learning are most legitimate. As experiential learning becomes adopted within highly institutionalized environments, it is often adapted or co-opted by the organization.

Homogeneity and Heterogeneity: Institutional and Political Perspectives

Although these spheres of legitimacy are depicted as distinct and *heterogeneous*, their boundaries are somewhat blurred and these various arenas necessarily interact as part

of an open system. *Within* the institutional environments of these three spheres, homogeneity is represented by taken-for-granted beliefs and values, such as the belief that higher education institutions should serve the public good or reciprocal engagement in the community is desirable in experiential learning. However, this framework also allows for *heterogeneity within* each sphere to understand the multiple and often conflicting goals and interests of individual actors within those environments. For example, experiential educators in the field disagree about whether a disciplinary or interdisciplinary approach to service-learning is most legitimate in terms of operationalizing and institutionalizing the practice. The broader sphere of higher education is mediated by the context of the individual university contexts, creating greater heterogeneity. For example, Cornell University might interpret institutionalized beliefs about higher education differently than Stanford University, given Cornell's land grant status.

The Cornell and Stanford case studies highlight the multiple and often conflicting conceptions of legitimacy that exist *across* and *within* the academy, the experiential learning field, and the external environment. The case studies also describe the forms and purposes of experiential learning at the intersection of those three spheres. The framework assumes that the relative strength of influence of any given sphere will shift over time; however, the highly institutionalized context of research universities is a dominant force in determining legitimacy in this study. As the field of service-learning becomes more structured (Pollack, 1997) and calls for public accountability ebb and flow, the influence of the experiential learning field and the external environment shift over time.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study explores historically the spread and legitimacy of experiential learning to and within two research universities. The goal of this research is to provide thick descriptions of *how* and *why* experiential learning diffused in these settings and the various ways in which it was or was not legitimized. Doing so will provide the context in which to understand the ways in which experiential learning is constructed and understood in individual institutions, and the forms it has assumed. I use a social constructivist approach (Guba and Lincoln, 1998) in my research since I am interested in individuals' constructions of the meaning of experiential learning and the ways in which it is considered legitimate (Berger and Luckmann, 1967).

In this study, I ask the following questions:

- How and why did experiential learning come to be situated and operationalized within research universities?
- What are the purposes and legitimacy of different forms of experiential learning in research universities? How has that changed over time?

Research Design

The epistemological approach and conceptual framework used in this study assume that context is critical to understanding the phenomenon of the diffusion of experiential learning and how and why it does or does not become legitimized. Subsequently, I used a qualitative case study approach, which is defined as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 1994, p. 13). Case study design is particularly appropriate when multiple sources of evidence are used.

Research was conducted at two case study sites: Cornell University and Stanford University. Selecting two institutions that were elite research universities was intentional in that these settings have been more resistant historically to adopting certain forms of experiential learning than other types of higher education institutions (Gamson, 1989). Both institutions have rich histories of variously institutionalizing and deinstitutionalizing different forms of experiential learning; therefore, both sites have examples of “failed” and “successful” experiential learning initiatives. Cornell and Stanford were each known

nationally for having or having had an exemplary model of experiential learning, which was emulated extensively by other colleges and universities. One such model still existed and thrived (the Haas Center for Public Service at Stanford) and the other was closed in 1991 (the Human Ecology Field Study Office at Cornell). These two examples allowed for in-depth case study research, which illuminated the circumstances that led to institutionalization or deinstitutionalization.

While there were many similarities between these two institutions (e.g., highly selective, research-focused), I also selected these two sites to allow for contextual variation. Cornell is located in rural upstate New York, and Stanford is located in Silicon Valley near San Francisco. They each had unique relationships with their respective communities given their geographic and economic contexts. While Stanford is a private institution, Cornell was often referred to as a “private university with a public mission” because of its status as a land grant institution. Four of its colleges are funded by the State University of New York (SUNY). In some ways, Cornell could be considered two separate case studies since the University was highly decentralized and the divisions between the endowed and statutory colleges ran deep and were complicated by the University’s Ivy League status. By holding the activity--experiential learning--constant, and varying the context, I had a better understanding of the importance of context in legitimizing experiential learning. In addition to these considerations, geographical proximity to Stanford and access to informants and archival records at Cornell played an important role in selecting these two sites as case studies.

Since experiential learning has been a marginal activity historically, some examples of experiential learning were difficult to locate and track as they remained undocumented on the periphery. Given the size of these institutions and the relative decentralization of experiential learning activities, my first task was to narrow what I was going to study and make data collection more manageable. Rather than creating an inventory of all experiential learning activities on each campus, I focused data collection on experiential learning that has had or sought to have institution-wide impact. For example, while the cooperative education program in engineering at Cornell was an important form of experiential learning for that college, I did not include it in my study since it was not an opportunity that was available to students university-wide. I also narrowed the focus of the

study to include experiential learning only at the undergraduate level. I used initial interviews with key informants to help determine the programs and activities on which to focus, as well as which key participants and decision makers to interview.

Data Collection

Typically, case studies include data collected from the following sources: interviews, direct observation, participant observation, documentation, archival records, and physical artifacts (Yin, 1994). In this study, I relied on interviews, documentation, and archival records for data. Since this study was historical, data was collected from the period of 1969-2002. The 1969-1970 academic year was a key period in which several experiential learning activities on both campuses were initiated.

In April 2000, I spent two weeks at Cornell interviewing informants and collecting archival data. I returned to the campus for follow up data collection for one week during April 2002. I collected data at Stanford between June and October 2002. At both sites I conducted semi-structured interviews with faculty members, university administrators, program administrators, staff members, and students. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and two hours and I interviewed each person between one and four times. I interviewed 35 people at Cornell and 28 people at Stanford for a total of 75³ interviews.

Given the historical nature of this research and the multiple roles university members often hold, it was difficult to portray fully an accurate accounting of informants by type. Table 2.1 describes the *primary* role for which I interviewed each person; however, informants often provided perspectives based on the multiple roles that they held at the time of their interviews or have held in the past. For example, I interviewed six faculty at Stanford whose primary involvement with experiential learning was as faculty members; however, another 11 of the university or program administrators I interviewed were also faculty members and were able to discuss experiential learning from that perspective as well. Likewise, I interviewed specifically only one student at Stanford; however, five other informants were Stanford alumni and offered their perspectives on experiential learning during the time that they were students. The perspectives of former students were particularly informative in terms of learning more about programs that existed in the 1960s-1980s, since it was difficult to locate students who attended Stanford

³ This total includes multiple interviews with the same informant.

during that time period. Interviewees were asked to answer questions about how and why experiential learning took hold historically in their institution as well as the different forms it had assumed (See Appendix A for Interview Protocol).

Table 2.1: Interviews by Role and Institution

	University Administrators	Program Administrators & Staff	Faculty	Students	Total Informants	Total Interviews
CORNELL	13	10	11	1	35	43
STANFORD	4	17	6	1	28	32

Archival materials were gathered from university archives at both institutions as well as from individuals' personal files to understand official positions regarding the status and purpose of experiential learning and the processes by which these activities ebbed and flowed over time. Documents collected from University Archives, individuals' archives, and other sources included: founding documents, meeting minutes, mission statements, personal correspondence, institutional reports and budgets, memos, newsletters, letters from students, newspaper clippings, presidential speeches, course catalogs, course syllabi, web sites, and RFPs for funding experiential learning initiatives.

Data Analysis

All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed by myself or a professional transcriber. After about half of the interviews had been transcribed, I began content-coding the transcripts, archival documents and field notes from interviews for emergent themes (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Based on the research on institutionalization of experiential learning, I focused this preliminary review on coding for faculty involvement, faculty incentives and rewards, location of experiential learning within the organizational structure, resources, and purpose and type of experiential learning. When all the interviews had been transcribed, I reviewed and coded them again to find other emergent themes such as mechanisms for diffusion (i.e., mimetic isomorphism, co-optation). Once the interviews were coded, I cut, pasted and organized them by themes into separate documents. Once quotes were organized by themes, I was able to identify the extent to which there was consensus or diversity about a given issue and compare responses between the two

institutions. After I finished writing the case study chapters, I gave portions of the case studies to select informants at both universities to review in order to verify facts and perceptions about the histories.

Confidentiality

Since context was an important aspect of the phenomenon being studied, I disclosed the names of both universities in my findings. To ensure confidentiality, I did not include individuals' names in the findings. Many informants gave me permission voluntarily to identify them; however, I chose to keep all informants anonymous for consistency. Given that informants often held multiple roles simultaneously or over time, I identified them based on the perspective from which they described a particular program or event. For example, a former Dean might be described as an administrator in one part of the study and a faculty member in another, depending on the time period and program or initiative he or she was describing.

In order to maintain anonymity in reporting data, I changed some identifying characteristics of my informants such as gender. Ensuring anonymity was important particularly for those in more marginalized positions in the universities (i.e., non-tenured or non-tenure track faculty). Some of my informants had or have very prominent positions within the institution; while it may not be possible to completely maintain anonymity for these people (e.g., university presidents), every effort was made to do so.

Limitations of Research Design and Data Collection

There were a number of limitations or issues that affected the findings of this study. The first limitation related to access to and selection of informants. Since experiential learning tends to be peripheral to universities and is often carried out by non-tenured faculty or staff, participation in experiential learning can be quite fluid. Given this fluid participation and the historical nature of this study, it was difficult at times to locate key players who worked with programs that have since closed or who worked with programs in the founding years.

Some informants kept excellent archives of programs and initiatives while others kept few, if any, records. I had access to extensive archives regarding the Field Study Office and Public Service Network at Cornell; however, was unable to locate any archives on the Cornell in Washington Program. At Stanford I had access to many documents

regarding the Stanford Workshops on Political and Social Issues (SWOPSI) and the Student Center for Innovation and Research in Education (SCIRE); however, was unable to locate archives about the Stanford in Washington Program or the Action Research Liaison Office (ARLO). These variations affected the degree of richness with which I was able to describe individual programs.

I conducted interviews mostly with those who were either involved directly with experiential learning through personal interest or involved indirectly through administrative oversight, which meant that the first-hand perspectives of faculty and administrators *not* involved with experiential learning in any way are under-represented in my study. At the same time, several informants who were involved with experiential learning through their role as administrators (and not by personal choice) were either neutral about or critical of experiential learning. In addition, I had hoped to interview more students for this study; however, given the historical nature of this study, it was difficult to locate alumni who had participated in the programs or initiatives I studied. Student voices were, however, present in documents from the archives. For example, many of the documents and correspondence about the student-initiated programs at Stanford were written by students. Students' perceptions about experiential learning were also represented through articles in student newspapers.

Second, since my findings were based on only two case studies, they are not intended to be generalizable across all research universities. Most previous research on this topic has taken a very macro perspective on the experiential learning field; my study was designed to provide a thick description of the processes of legitimating experiential learning at the level of the individual university. Likewise, an understanding of the specific context of these two institutions was important to the design. I do, however, believe that all research universities share some common characteristics and that the stories about legitimizing experiential learning in these two institutions provide some insights for other research universities as they make decisions about adopting or adapting experiential learning.

Finally, because I am an experiential educator, I am at risk potentially for conducting this study from an advocate's point of view rather than just as a researcher. To mitigate this potential risk, I consciously selected institutions where I am not currently

employed. In addition, while this study certainly has implications for how to increase the legitimacy of experiential learning, my theoretical framework allowed me to view legitimacy as a sociological and organizational phenomenon, without focusing on whether diffusion of experiential learning was inherently “bad” or “good.”



CHAPTER 3

EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING AT CORNELL UNIVERSITY

CASE STUDY OVERVIEW

This case study describes the rich, and often contested, history of experiential learning at Cornell University between 1969-2002. While not inclusive of all experiential learning activities at Cornell during this time, the case study captures the major efforts that were intended to diffuse university-wide. The case study begins with a description of the Human Ecology Field Study Office (FSO), an interdepartmental program founded in 1972, which focused on community problem-solving as well as student learning before, during, and after field study. As an independent, interdisciplinary unit, the FSO faced ongoing resistance from departmental faculty, which contributed to the demise of its core programs in Ithaca in 1992, amidst severe budget cuts. Another program that emerged just prior to the FSO was the Human Affairs Program (HAP), which was a student-initiated, social change program, perceived by many faculty to be radical and lacking in academic rigor. A distinguishing feature of HAP was its use of non-faculty as course instructors, often drawing from the experience and expertise of community members. The Human Affairs Program was eliminated in 1975.

The Public Service Center was founded in 1991, in an effort to coordinate the disparate public service efforts across campus. The PSC was the result of many years of planning by the Public Service Network. The PSC was home to the Faculty Fellows in Service Program, which was the major service-learning effort on campus. Despite its history of public service in the community, faculty were critical that the Center continued to be under-resourced, especially given the University's publicly stated commitment to civic engagement.

Although a relatively small effort, participatory action research (PAR) at Cornell was significant to this study because the PAR movement was founded at Cornell. Although a number of senior faculty at Cornell conducted PAR, it suffered somewhat from a misunderstanding by other faculty about the methods and rigors of this collaborative, community-based approach to research. In 2001, the Bartels Undergraduate Research Program provided funding for undergraduates to conduct PAR projects. The Program's

future was unclear past its three years of initial funding and the PAR Network received a modest, uncertain amount of funding to sustain itself.

Two Programs that were well-received on campus were Cornell in Washington and the Presidential Research Scholars Program. CIW was referred to as the “crown jewel” of Cornell, and was successful in recruiting senior faculty to teach courses in Washington, D.C., although a number of instructors continued to be non-Cornell faculty. The Program remained fairly stable over time, although it broadened its scope to extend beyond just government majors. The Presidential Research Scholars Program was created in 1996 to recruit top high school students to Cornell. The Program provided funding for students to engage in research with faculty throughout their four years at Cornell. The Program was significant to this study because of the increasing legitimacy of undergraduate research as a form of experiential learning.

In 2001, the administration initiated a series of initiatives to evaluate civic engagement activities at Cornell. These initiatives were significant because they examined Cornell’s public service mission and the extent to which Cornell was meeting that mission. These initiatives also highlighted the ambiguity around Cornell’s role in and responsibilities to the community. This section of the chapter reviews the President’s appointment of a Special Assistant for community outreach, the Land Grant Mission Review, Cornell’s sponsorship of the New York Campus Compact, Educational Public Outreach for federally-funded science research projects, and ongoing town/gown relationships between Cornell and Ithaca. While administrative support for an increased commitment to university-wide civic engagement seemed promising in 2000, faculty were largely disappointed by the lack of progress made between 2000-2002.

The case study begins with a brief overview of the founding and history of Cornell University as a context in which to understand the dynamics around the spread and legitimacy of experiential learning that unfold in the case study. Cornell’s history as a land grant institution serves as the context in which experiential learning was legitimized differentially in different forms and locations on campus.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY

In 1865, Ezra Cornell founded Cornell University as New York's land grant institution, under the Morrill Act of 1862. Cornell was a wealthy businessman and politician who wanted to create an educational institution that provided practical education to those from working class families. His fellow state senator, Andrew D. White, envisioned a more progressive and scholarly education during discussions about a proposed new university (Bishop, 1962). These two visions were brought together as Cornell was founded and endowed with private and public funding. Ezra Cornell agreed to donate his Ithaca farm for the campus as well as a \$500,000 endowment if funds received through the Morrill Act were pledged to the University. Cornell was the youngest and largest of the Ivy League institutions. It was conceived by its founders as an institution where "any person can find instruction in any study."

The Morrill Act of 1862 provided every state in the Union with 30,000 acres of public land for each member of its congressional delegation. The states were to sell the land and use the profits to create colleges of agriculture, engineering, and military science (<http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/facts/democrac/27.htm>). The land grant universities were seen as extending education and research to a broader set of constituents than most universities at that time did. Land grant institutions were charged with the following:

without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and mechanic arts...in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life..." (www.cornelldailysun.com/articles/7691/).

Cornell has seven undergraduate colleges or schools, four of which are privately endowed and three of which are statutory colleges: The College of Human Ecology, the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, and the School of Industrial and Labor Relations. When the State University of New York (SUNY) was created in 1948, the statutory colleges over time became affiliated with SUNY. Extension and outreach were one of the statutory colleges' main missions. Although the statutory colleges' budgets were controlled by SUNY, the administration of the college was delegated to the Board of Trustees of the University. Cornell was unusual in this arrangement and as Carron (1958) states, "...a tax-supported college controlled and managed by a private university presents

a unique, if not paradoxical, concept” (p. xii). This paradox became more salient after the rise of the research university.

The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 helped establish the Cooperative Extension system at Cornell and other land grant institutions. The purpose of cooperative extension was “to aid diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics, and to encourage the application of the same” (Smith-Lever Act, May 8, 1914, Sect. 1). Cooperative extension has been one of the main public service vehicles for the University in fulfilling its land grant mission to the State of New York. According to the Cornell Faculty Handbook, extension was seen as putting research to use to benefit the “common person.”

As evidence of his commitment to practical education, Ezra Cornell felt that students should be engaged in manual labor as students. Following the model of Manual Labor Schools, which were prominent in the early to mid-1800s, he proposed that student scholars should engage in four hours of manual labor per day. Although Manual Labor Schools were seen as largely unsuccessful by the mid-1850s, “the new establishment of agricultural colleges revived the idea, in a more rational form” (Bishop, 1962, p. 57). The Morrill Act of 1862 helped crystallize Cornell’s philosophy about work as a viable part of an education.

The post-World War II era ushered in an institutional focus on research and the emergence of the importance of faculty tenure. Sponsored research had risen to \$39,400,000 by 1960, increased from \$11,500,000 just ten years earlier (Bishop, 1962). As Cornell built its reputation as a premiere research university, the distinctions between basic and applied research became more apparent. Today, Cornell University is referred to frequently as a “private university with a public mission.” Informants described the inherent tensions between the goals of advancing basic research and making research relevant and applied. These tensions were prominent during the University’s most recent capital campaign, which designated an unprecedented amount of money for basic science research. In addition, the University was challenged to define its outreach audience, given its stature as a world class university with certain obligations to New York State. In 2002, the University undertook a review of its land grant mission to try to create consensus about what it meant to be a land grant institution in the 21st century. These changing dynamics

serve as a backdrop through which to understand how, where, and why experiential learning did or did not diffuse and become institutionalized at Cornell.

THE HUMAN ECOLOGY FIELD STUDY OFFICE

And we knew we had a really excellent program. And at that time we were getting such national interest--and that to me was so crazy too--you'd go off campus and everybody was going 'my God, this is the best thing since sliced bread! How do you do it?' ...And then you'd come home and be enemy number one (Cornell faculty member).

In the experiential learning field, the Human Ecology Field Study Office¹, also known as the "Cornell Model," has been emulated and adapted by experiential learning programs all over the world. Former faculty members in the program reported that they saw elements of their old curriculum frequently when they worked as consultants for experiential learning programs at other colleges and universities. The FSO was considered to be one of the first programs in the country to have taken the notion of preparation for field study seriously. The Program provided interdisciplinary approaches to field study for students within the College of Human Ecology; however, students across the University could enroll in these courses as well. The FSO's status as a non-departmental, interdisciplinary program with an emphasis on pre-field preparation was, as one administrator recalled, the Program's strength and its undoing. Its status and position within the College's structure allowed for creativity and innovation on the margins but often left the program vulnerable in terms of resource allocation and legitimacy. The following description of the Field Study Office covers the thirty-year period that spanned its creation in 1972, the elimination of its core structure in 1992, and the remaining New York City field experience that came to be known as the Urban Semester. The FSO was significant to this case study because it became a widely emulated model in higher education, yet struggled for 20 years to gain legitimacy within the College of Human Ecology.

The Founding Years: 1972-1976

The Context: Earlier Changes in the College

The idea for the Field Study Office evolved out of a major review of the mission and structure of the College of Home Economics (now the College of Human Ecology) during the late 1960s and early 1970s. In 1965, the President charged a group of faculty

¹ The name was changed formally to the Field and International Study Program (FISP) in 1988 when the FSO and the International Program merged.

members with evaluating and making recommendations about objectives, functions, and approaches of the College of Home Economics in the "President's Committee to Study the College of Home Economics" (also known as the Blackwell Report). The Committee evaluated the current goals and functions of the college within the national context of examining the continued need for colleges of home economics. As one faculty member remarked about this time period, "Colleges of Home Economics were rapidly reinventing themselves because they weren't farm women in need of that opportunity [anymore], and they needed another reason for being, sort of like the March of Dimes."

The Blackwell Committee affirmed the importance of the College in improving human welfare through teaching, research and extension. "At the same time, the study undertaken by the Committee reflected a faculty concern with altering the external perception of the College as placing major emphasis on practical issues of homemaking and child care, with relatively little strength in the academic disciplines related to its overall mission" (Confidential Report, 1995, p. 1). One specific recommendation from the Committee was to change the name of the College to reflect a more contemporary image of its mission and the areas of study that had evolved over time. After many long debates about a potential name change, state legislation was signed into law in April 1969 changing the name of the College to "College of Human Ecology."

In order to examine further the proposed recommendations outlined in the Blackwell Report, President Perkins created the "Organization Committee for the College of Home Economics" in June 1967. The Committee was charged with recommending an optimal organizational structure for the College in order to best carry out the following mission that was written in 1968:

The focus of the program of the College of Home Economics is on the study of human development and the quality of the human environment. The College seeks to enhance the well-being of individuals and families through research, education, and application of knowledge in the physical, biological, and social sciences and the humanities. The College is particularly concerned with problems of human welfare and family well-being which are of compelling significance in contemporary society.

The proposed reorganization was designed to carry out this mission via strong disciplinary departments as well as interdisciplinary efforts across the College through interdisciplinary

programs. The faculty prioritized major academic program areas based on their significance to issues in society.

The proposed reorganized structure included reducing the number of academic departments from seven to four. The proposed new departments were: Consumer Economics & Resources; Housing & Environmental Design; Human Development & Behavior; and Human Nutrition & Food. In addition to these departments, there were to be two intra-college, cross-departmental centers: The Center for Study of Social Change & Social Problems and The Center for Public Service (including continuing education, cooperative extension, and teacher preparation). Experiential learning was central to both of these Centers. The Center for the Study of Social Change & Social Problems was described as follows:

Center for the Study of Social Change & Social Problems (CSC): One of the major concerns of this Center would be to foster and facilitate research on problems of social change, both at the general theoretical level and in the specific context of particular projects or programs. Another is to assist in the initiation of problem-centered programs of research, teaching, or social action (CHE, 1969, p. 8).

Examples of social issues to be explored through teaching, research and social action included: changing the nutritional practices of mothers in underdeveloped countries, understanding the purchasing habits of poorly informed consumers in urban ghettos, or identifying the responses of teachers and school administrators to proposed innovations in educational programs. The description for the Center for Public Service was:

Center for Public Service (CPS): This Center is intended to facilitate the overall planning, coordination, and continuing review of ongoing public service programs, as well as the exploration of new avenues of approach for fulfilling and enhancing the College's responsibilities in the broad arena of public service (CHE, 1969, p. 8).

The reorganization plan called for the CPS to have close links with both subject matter departments and the CSC. The proposals to develop these interdisciplinary, college-wide centers focused on social change and public service were not approved. One faculty member recalled how this proposal was debated at length:

I remember we had talked about these two centers...some of us still think that was a good idea. Those were to be centers that were intended to encourage cross-departmental cooperation--one would be more concerned

with research, one would be more of an action center, so field experience could come out of this set up... They were not implemented. It didn't stand up to the fall out, but it took an awful lot of discussion.

After extensive deliberations, the Dean and an ad-hoc committee to review the recommendations for reorganization presented the final organizational structure, which was comprised of five academic departments: Consumer Economics and Public Policy; Design and Environmental Analysis; Human Development and Family Studies; Human Nutrition and Food; and Community Service Education. The final structure (as of 1969) did not include a Community Service Education department (Confidential Report, 1995).

The CSC, CPS, and the Community Service Education department were not developed despite the Dean's call to focus on experiential learning as a way to carry out the college mission. In a confidential report, a faculty member reported that the Dean wrote in his 1969-70 Annual Report that the programmatic changes in the College would include:

...a conception of undergraduate education that emphasizes both intellectual discipline and experiential learning....and a problem solving orientation that combines multidisciplinary investigation and programming with a growing interest in social policy and the testing of new arrangements for improving human welfare (1995, p.9).

This faculty member elaborated on why experiential programs were resisted during that time:

With regard to curricular changes, the heightened emphasis placed on supplementing classroom learning with practical experience in field settings, and the granting of academic credit for such experience without direct faculty supervision, raised difficulties for a good many faculty. These issues required long discussions aimed at the development of criteria and ground rules for maintaining the academic integrity of such experiences for credit (Confidential Report, 1995, p. 10).

Early on in these efforts faculty raised questions about if and how field experiences were worthy of academic credit. There were also problems related to trying to integrate more closely the research and extension functions of the college.

One faculty member recalled that in the early 1970s the College was really "encouraging the departments to think about ways of enriching students' experiences by giving them field study." Some departments were more successful with offering experiences than others. Human Service Studies (which is now part of the Department of

Policy Analysis and Management) was a department that devoted more efforts to developing these experiences, and there were quite a few faculty proponents of field study in that department. The faculty member also noted that the origins of the FSO “grew out of some dissatisfaction with the conservative orientation of departments and giving credit [for field study].” One strategy the FSO staff² used to differentiate themselves from the departments was that “they didn’t talk about them then as internships, but as field experience courses.” Strategic use of language to describe their activities was important from the outset.

Origins of the Field Study Office

Despite some faculty skepticism about experiential learning, the context of the College of Human Ecology as a land grant and problem-centered institution had important implications for including experiential learning in the functions of the College. It was within this context that the Field Study Office was developed in order to engage students in operationalizing the College’s mission to solve societal problems.

The notion of field study was recommended in the Blackwell Report as a way to help achieve the College’s objectives. Specifically, the Field Study Office (FSO) focused on “the investigation, in off-campus settings, of the individual, organizational, community, and societal level variables that shape both the definition and the solution of human problems” (A Proposal for the Organization & Governance of the Field Study Office, 1984, p. 3).

The Field Study Office (FSO) was created officially in 1972. According to the founding director of the FSO, both faculty and students articulated the need to increase learning experiences outside of the traditional student-faculty relationship and the traditional classroom teaching model (Confidential Report, 1973). A faculty member acknowledged that some of the pressure to create field study opportunities³ came from the

² The reference to “FSO staff” represents both FSO faculty who led the Program and the support staff with whom the faculty collaborated to carry out the Program’s mission.

³ Field Study at this point was defined by the Ad Hoc Committee to Develop Guidelines for Field Experience (no date) as follows: “Field study provides the student learning experience through blocked time assignments to field organizations. Field study is developed, implemented, and evaluated cooperatively with the field organizations, and the responsibility for evaluating the student’s performance lies with College and field-located supervisors. Duration of a field study course is usually not less than the equivalent of 6 semester credits, and will usually involve living off-campus. Field study is distinguished from participation and directed observation in intensity and duration of the experience and in greater involvement of the field organizations.”

students: "I would stress the ferment on all campuses in the 70s, but at Cornell especially. I would say given the turmoil of the late 60s, early 70s, part of the pressure came from students pressing for more control of education." This pressure was particularly strong at Cornell, given the student uprisings that occurred on campus in 1969 (Downs, 1999). Subsequently student pressure, in part, led the administration to respond to students' demands. The same faculty member added that the specific proposal for a college-wide FSO was based on the following rationale:

It probably grew from the College's sense of frustration that departments were very conservative about [providing field study opportunities]. So if the departments won't do it, then we'll do it at the college level...So when this movement [started] on the part of the College to create a separate FSO, and especially to begin giving academic credit, it was the first time as I recall that a unit in the College, other than a department, became authorized to give academic credit. Well, that in a sense was quite revolutionary!

The Field Study Committee of 1971 and the program's early organizers had the following objectives for field study:

1. That the Human Ecology Field Study Program enable students to experience the interplay between individuals and families and human-made systems and institutions.
2. That they learn to analyze and conceptualize these experiences; thereby emphasizing the mutually beneficial linkage of theory and practice.
3. That the program instruct students in analysis and problem-solving skills which are based on a human ecological perspective (1978 Annual Report of the FSO, p. 1).

After an initial planning seminar (ID 301⁴), which involved students, an inter-departmental faculty committee was formed to plan the field study curriculum. Subsequently, the FSO developed ID302: Issues in the Private Sector for 24 students as well as a related summer field program for seven students. In addition, the FSO coordinated and oversaw ID360: Problem-Solving, which had enrollments of 56 students in five sections taught by 15 faculty members. Although this course did not necessarily require a field placement, it provided students with important skill development in problem-centered learning. Examples of different projects developed within this course included: minimizing deceptive advertising in media; examining institutional racism

⁴ The ID course designation indicated that the course was interdisciplinary.

within the College of Human Ecology; and developing recommendations about the University's role in child care. A key characteristic of this course was engaging faculty across a variety of disciplines to help students engage in interdisciplinary problem-solving. An interesting outcome of the project process was the need to deal with group dynamics among students who were participating collaboratively in problem-solving. The issue of group process was an unexpected one for some faculty, and created quite a bit of discomfort for them since they typically did not have to deal with interpersonal dynamics in more traditional courses (Confidential Report, 1973).

Another field course on Community Planning and Decision-Making, in conjunction with Cooperative Extension, was also piloted in 1973. ID 325 was created to provide six credit field opportunities to students in health, housing, or childcare in a nearby county through Cooperative Extension. All of these courses had some type of academic coursework and group discussion to integrate field experiences with academic learning.

Issues During the Early Years

The FSO staff spent significant time during the initial year creating a central clearinghouse for records on all field experiences. In addition, the Director also started developing an orientation to the Program for community supervisors as well as introducing faculty to the type of placements available. Staff and faculty working with Field Study also made an initial attempt to develop criteria for determining different types of field experiences:

While the record keeping system is not yet entirely accurate, nor the criteria for determining the type of field experience in a course foolproof, (observation, observation/participation and participation) comparison data gathered for 1970-72 compared with data gathered in 1972 suggest a marked increase in the number of courses involving both observation/participation and participation within the College, and thus a movement toward realizing the faculty mandate viz-a-viz (sic) field study (Confidential Report, 1973, p. 13).

The FSO staff and involved faculty perceived a need to secure funding from external sources for further program development. In the first year, several faculty and staff worked together to submit a proposal to the Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education (FIPSE). According to the first year report, "While prospects for funding seem unlikely, the discipline of developing the proposal was important in the

clarification and condretization (sic) of the overall program, and a necessary step that now makes it possible to develop a series of proposals to support various segments of the program on smaller grants" (Confidential Report, 1973, p. 14).

The Dean formed a Field Study Committee in 1971 with faculty representation from all departments in the College of Human Ecology (CHE). The Committee was central to monitoring field courses--particularly Human Affairs Program⁵ courses-- and considered College-wide policies regarding field study. The Committee also discussed guidelines related to field study such as determining credits for field study and creating policies about field supervisors' relationships and roles with the College. According to the First Year Report, one of the main problems with the Committee's efforts was the need to provide more adequate information to the departments about developments in field study. The Director reported that in particular, the departmental faculty needed more information to help them distinguish between departmental field study offerings and offerings provided through the new college-wide Field Study Office.

In terms of institutionalizing the Program, the Director felt that two different issues needed to be addressed in the long run: 1. faculty needed to have a stronger commitment to alternative learning methods; and 2. faculty from all departments needed to become more involved in implementing the college-wide program. In order for faculty to become more engaged, new role and reward structures needed to be developed so that field study would be recognized publicly across the college and would not "simply add to the existing compartmentalization within the College" (Confidential Report, 1973, p. 17). A program administrator concluded that, "Whether Field Study will survive in the College as an integral part of the College rather than a reflection of the commitment of a small group of people will, in the long run depend upon these two issues" (Confidential Report, 1973, p. 18).

Consistent funding was also a problem that FSO directors needed to address. In a memo to the director (March 8, 1977), a faculty member wrote the following:

In view of the fact that the Field Studies Program, as I understand it, will not continue at Cornell unless funding is secured, I would like to state for

⁵ The Human Affairs Program was an innovative, alternative, university-wide Program that existed from 1969-1975. The program garnered criticism from faculty for its radical nature. Given its experiential inclinations, the CHE approved HAP courses for credit for its students. The Program is discussed in greater detail in the section following the FSO.

the record my views on the longer-range possibilities of funding from private sources.

As it became clear that internal funding would be uncertain, the directors often sought ways to look for alternative ways to fund the program to continue its operation.

During the first few years, there was almost a complete turnover in Program staff. By 1975 a new director had come on board and the staff began offering a New York City field course called ID 408, which allowed students to gain field experience in New York City. In addition to completing a field placement, students also attended a seminar in NYC that helped them integrate their experiences academically. Another important addition to the curriculum was the development of a pre-field preparation course for students. The FSO was one of the first programs in the country to create a model of preparation for field study, and this course became one of the hallmarks of the program. The instructors wrote five publications and did multiple conference presentations over the years based on the course design. The course, however, was also a source of contention since some faculty viewed it as unnecessary. The primary rationale behind field preparation was skills training. "The course endeavors to help students to develop skills that will make them better able to cope with the complex demands of a field placement and to learn from the experience" (1978 Annual Report of the FSO, p. 7). Students learned various ethnographic techniques such as participant observation to prepare them for learning from the field.

At this point, experiential learning was gaining popularity on campus and there was increased interest from the communities as well. These pressures led administrators within the College and the University to consider policies regarding field-based learning.

According to a memo sent to Undergraduate Deans from the Career Center (January 26, 1976), which requested information about off-campus learning in each College:

Student interest in off-campus learning seems to be on the up-swing. This is to ask for your help in taking inventory of college and university courses and policies which accommodate and legitimize academic credit for off-campus or 'field-based' learning. I am especially eager to record-for feedback to you and to students-what in the diverse rhetoric used to define such learning strategies is termed 'cooperative education.'...My reason for asking your help in defining Cornell University policy and practice regarding this matter is twofold. First, this topic is not coherently stated in any of the literature we use to define policy and practice of the university. Second, there is evidence accumulating that suggests

employers - and worthy lay teachers beyond Ithaca - are adopting policies and practices of accommodating or hiring only students who can demonstrate that their parent institution recognizes teaching/learning partnerships.

The Rise of the Program: 1977 - 1984

Structure and Leadership

In 1977 the FSO Program came under new leadership. The structure of the program at that time included a director who also taught the New York City course, an assistant director, and a field prep instructor based in Ithaca. The new director reported accepting the job in Fall 1977 without knowing that “they had tried to kill the Program that summer.” Faculty reported that at this time there was very little faculty support for the program and the FSO staff existed in a hostile environment and faced much opposition. A Program faculty member recalled that during his interview an ally on the search committee “said, ‘here’s the plan for the next two days. Here are the people you are going to meet,’ and he told me all about them; ‘and here’s what you’re going to say to them.’” Positioning and operationalizing the Program was very political for those who worked closely with it. Although the CHE department chairs had voted 5:1 to end the Program, the Dean of the College saved the FSO. The FSO received only a temporary reprieve from the opposition since the Dean, its main supporter, announced her retirement the following year.

Although the FSO staff members were concerned about continued support from the administration, the new Dean turned out to be a strong supporter of the principles behind field study. During his tenure the FSO became a full-time program and enrollments doubled since he provided the necessary resources for expansion. As a result, the staff was able to add an Ithaca-based field program and hired two new faculty members. During the 1977-78 academic year, the Program faculty refined the core courses in field preparation (ID 200) and field study (ID 408) “into a conceptually coherent, pedagogically sound, exemplary program, which is recognized as such by students, faculty, individuals in private and public sector organizations in New York State, and by educators across the country” (1978 Annual Report of the FSO, p. 1). Some departmental faculty began recommending ID 200 as preparation for certain field study courses within their departments. Given the increased student demand for the course, the FSO staff requested in 1978 that the ID 200 instructor be given a full-time appointment and that the course be funded internally on a

permanent basis. Student demand for ID 409 also increased, because more departments had emphasized field study and recommended the course to meet departmental requirements for field study (e.g., The Community Nutrition program) (1978 Annual Report of the FSO).

Enrollments and a Proposed Restructuring

According to the Five Year Plan written in 1979-1980 (p. 1), current and projected enrollments for field study courses were as follows:

Table 3.1 Enrollments (1979-1980)

	1979-80 Enrollment	1980-81 Projected Enrollment	1981-82 and Beyond
ID 100: Orientation to Field Study (1 credit)	49	60	*
ID 200: Preparation for Fieldwork: Perspectives in Human Ecology (4 credits)	82	90-100	*

***Student Interest (from both CHE and other Cornell colleges) in field study (through the Field Study Office and other College departments) has grown over the past three years at an extremely rapid rate. Total course enrollment in ID 100 and 200 has increased from 29 in 77-78 to 131 in 79-80. By 82-83 student demand for pre-field preparation could easily double" (p.1).

As Program faculty reviewed projected enrollments and considered how uncertain resources for the Program were, they developed a plan to restructure the pre-field preparation courses (Table 3.1). In short, six different proposed field prep courses were to be offered at two credits each. The purpose of differentiating the field prep courses included focusing the curriculum more closely on urban ecology, community problem-solving, public policy, or international human ecology. These changes coincided with the introduction of a college-sponsored program in international education that stressed cross-cultural field study. The FSO faculty wanted to take responsibility for providing field prep courses for students participating in the international program. One of the reasons behind taking responsibility for the international field study curriculum was to "introduce inter-cultural curriculum and training into ID 200 so as to improve pre-field preparation of all students intending to do field study, whether domestically or abroad" (FSO Five Year Plan, 1979-80, p. 2). The broader changes were also an attempt to create a better linkage

between ID 200 and the field courses in terms of process and content so that the issues students were studying were better integrated.

As a result of this restructuring, students needed to enroll in more courses through the Program as the requirements and prerequisites for field study changed. During this period, students had to dedicate 19 course credits to field study if they wished to participate, including 2 credits for ID 200: Orientation to Field Study, 2 credits for the specialized Preparation for Field Study course (ID 201, 202, 203, or 360), and up to 15 credits for the actual field placement and accompanying course. At this point, four different departmental field study offerings were available. Although the specialized Field Study courses never came to fruition, the basic ID 200 course remained a critical prerequisite to the field offerings and eventually became a four credit course. (See Appendix B for a summary of major courses).

Involving Faculty and Departments

The FSO staff made several attempts to coordinate with departments regarding departmental field study offerings. They offered the rationale that coordinating would lead to greater efficiency and cost-cutting for the departments, which was important given the context of ongoing fiscal constraint in the College:

An objective in establishing ID 406 Sponsored Field Learning / Internships, and ID 409 The Ecology of Rural Organizations: Central New York, is to establish "generic" field supervision curriculum and instruction appropriate to field study students representing a wide variety of disciplinary orientations and in equally diverse field placements. Once established the departments may see ID 406 and ID 409 as a cheaper and more effective means for providing such field supervision for their 402 students, thereby removing departmental faculty from this duty and enabling them to provide the disciplinary-related supervision which they are uniquely able to give. By referring departmental 402 students to 406 and 409 for "generic" supervision, departments can maximize what has become an expensive use of faculty time and maximize efficient use of College instructional resources. By 1982 it is hoped that such cooperative supervisory programs exist between the FSO and at least two departments (FSO Five Year Plan, 1979-80, p. 10).

Involving departmental faculty in FSO courses was problematic inherently for a number of reasons, including the distance of ID 408 (the NYC course) from the Cornell campus. As of 1983, students in Consumer Economics and Housing and Human Service Studies could

receive departmental credit for ID 408 in addition to ID credits; however, departmental linkages were problematic throughout the history of the Field Study Office, particularly given a number of departmental reorganizations that occurred in which certain departments were merged. In terms of field study, a faculty member stated that, "Some departments recognized it, a couple of departments strongly urged it, and other departments forbade it. They would be telling their students [not to take field study], or setting up curricula that had no room for electives."

In 1979, the issue of the amount of labor required for departmental faculty to supervise students enrolled for supervised field study (ID 402) also arose (FS Committee Meeting Minutes, March 14, 1979). In one Field Study Committee meeting, members discussed concerns they had about following the Educational Policy Committee (EPC) guidelines on Supervised Fieldwork. According to EPC guidelines, there needed to be at least one hour of faculty/student contact per week per three credits earned. The Committee discussed how a faculty person sponsoring two students who were each enrolled for six credits of field study would be expected to spend four hours a week meeting with these students. They pointed out how this commitment to two students would take up 10% of a faculty member's work week, which would clearly discourage faculty from supervising students in ID 402. An administrator described how the FSO's status with regard to departments was problematic:

The problem was, which I think is really a serious problem...if they're not embedded in the scholarly activity of the college and the department then what tends to happen--it certainly did happen in the FSO--was the people who were involved in that had this sense of embattlement...they believe that nobody respects them. Maybe it's true--I don't know.... For a while, they were arguing that they wanted to be a department. Well they couldn't be a department because they didn't have--I mean it was just a program offering credit.

In regard to the difficulty Program faculty often had in connecting with departments, one faculty member described the problem as the FSO was given mixed messages:

There's a line from an old poem that goes, 'yes my dear, you may go swimming, but don't go near the water' in terms of mixed messages. And for the FSO the mixed message was you have to be very good at meeting students' needs around field experience or you're not going to stay in business, but you can't be better than the departments.

Problems related to competing with the departments existed early in the Program's history as stated in the 1978 Annual Report of the FSO (p. 2):

The Field Study Office, since its inception, has found it difficult to develop collegial and cooperative relationships with the College's five academic departments. The departments have generally tended to consider field study courses as 'too process-oriented' and therefore not worthy of substantial academic credit and College funding. Field Study staff in turn have tended to become alienated, isolated, and defensive in their relationships to College faculty.

During that academic year, however, Program staff made special efforts to meet with departmental faculty to explain the process and content of the field study courses.

According to the Annual Report, departmental faculty began to refer their students to the FSO. However, competition between the departments and the FSO continued.

As the FSO evolved, staff members struggled to find a place for it within the larger College curriculum. Faculty reported that student demand for off-campus learning experiences was increasing and students had few outlets through which to meet those demands. In a 1977 memo to the Dean, responding to request for feedback on future College Priorities, a faculty member wrote:

In discussions with students, as well as my staff, I have come to sense a dissonance between student interests and aspirations and what they perceive to be the undergraduate curriculum.... We advertise ourselves as a stepping stone into professional employment. However, once students arrive they report that they find an undergraduate curriculum that, with a few outstanding exceptions, is oriented for preparation for further study, a junior version of a graduate program. They say they find few and seemingly dwindling opportunities for gaining practical experience and basic skills for coping in the working world, few programs designed to graduate them with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for finding a satisfactory niche in the world.... The College seems to be at a cross-roads in this regard. We seem to be attracting, and perhaps recruiting, students whose 'fit' with our curriculum is at least less than perfect, and certainly generates frustration, confusion and resentment.

This memo alluded to the ongoing debates about academic legitimacy that persisted and the schism that existed between faculty who thought the College should be teaching a more traditional curriculum and those who thought that the curriculum should reflect more closely the problem-centered mission of the College.

The Program did obtain some resources externally. For example, the Whirlpool Foundation provided a \$10,000 grant to the FSO during the mid-1970s. Budget pressures had been looming continuously for several years and one faculty reported that:

There were budget crises and the opponents were circling. [The Director] talked about that one year the budget shortfall was \$40,000 in the College...and it came out in a faculty meeting that that was the exact budget of Field Study. There was a simple solution to solving this one.

FSO faculty were worried consistently about ongoing financial support for the Program.

The College Study of 1983

In the early 1980s, the Dean created a committee to review undergraduate education in the College, which produced a 1983 report called "College Study on Undergraduate Education in Human Ecology" (commonly referred to as "The College Study"). The charge to the Committee included evaluating the extent to which the College had achieved the expectations set forth by the 1969 reorganization and assessing future directions for the College. With regard to meeting the expectations set forth by the reorganization, the report stated:

Twelve months of study reveals that the College has not completely realized the goals of the 1969 reorganization. Although it has successfully realigned its curriculum along "strong department" lines, as advocated in the Blackwell Report, and developed cohesive undergraduate majors, it has not sufficiently adopted the multidisciplinary problem orientation also called for in the 1969 reorganization report (College Study, 1983, p. 3).

Under recommendations for instruction in the College, the Committee set forth the following principle: "Experiential learning is essential to the integration of theory and practice and to the curriculum goals" (College Study, 1983, p. 10). Specific recommendations to abide by this principle included:

Recommendation 1: Opportunities for experiential learning will be available in every major. These may occur in studio/laboratories, honors programs, field study, research, or extension settings.

Recommendation 2: Opportunities for experiential learning, interdepartmental field study, independent research and special studies, will be closely supervised, continuously evaluated and redesigned to fit the College mission and curriculum goals in order to maintain the academic integrity of the experiences.

Recommendation 3: Since the quality of the experience in a field setting is influenced by the supervisor or mentor, it is essential that the gap between the College and the field setting be narrowed regarding content and process and that the agency/College relationship be made a reciprocal one (College Study, 1983, p. 10-11).

One administrator recalled that when the FSO was reviewed for the College Study there was a push once again to house the program within an academic department. When the Committee evaluated the program, concerns about academic integrity and status arose among the faculty (although the administrator made the point that perhaps the FSO courses were held to a higher level of scrutiny than regular academic courses):

There were recommendations made to put that program within an academic department. And so the issues were sort of political and again concerns about academic quality. What are the students really doing when they go off and do these field studies? And people in that program were not on tenure track. They were academic appointments, but they didn't necessarily have PhDs--I think they eventually all got them. So it really was sort of an academic status issue. And I think there were some legitimate questions that were raised about that. The problem of course is that those questions are not necessarily raised about what goes on in the classroom, where there is didactic learning. The quality question can be raised on either side.

He also mentioned that experiential learning residing *within* the departments (i.e., independent study, required internships in the major) was reviewed by the College with less scrutiny since tenured faculty within the departments oversaw those courses and experiences. Regarding the proposal to house the FSO in the Department of Human Service Studies, he added that, "I think it would have been a good idea because there was overlap, but the chair of the department didn't want it--resisted it." He also discussed the tradeoffs that the program would have experienced had it been moved from the margins of the College "where you allow strange things to happen, new ideas to percolate." He added:

On the other hand, if you have it outside the department, it's marginalized and people can say, 'well, I don't care about field study in our department very much, so if you want to do it, go do it in that program over there.' So it doesn't have a chance to permeate, and in a sense doesn't have a chance to really reform higher education.

Another administrator described the decision making process behind this choice:

Well, one of the things that we fussed and fumed about was whether to create it as an academic department. Somebody would have "academic status"--equal academic status to the other departments. There's a lot to be said for that, but there's also a lot against it. But in the end, I came down against it. Part of it was a prudential matter. The rest of the departments in the College would find it worrisome, then there really would have to be resources given to them, you see. If it was an academic department, it was equal to theirs, and therefore, the people in it were entitled to equal resources on a per capita basis. Experiential education is expensive--more expensive than the other kinds of education. And it's worth it...The rest of the College was a little opposed to it.

He added that once it became a department, its faculty members would have had to worry about academic status and credentials and "that if they're going to be really good experiential educators with the kinds of outside, diverse experience that you want...they wouldn't necessarily be strict, academic PhD types."

Most often, faculty and the administration envisioned FSO becoming part of the Human Service Studies (HSS) Department. Certain members of the department opposed this idea vehemently. In a 1983 confidential memo, a faculty member made the following points in response to recommendations made in the College Study to make FSO part of HSS:

[The Department of HSS] is astonished that a committee should display such total disregard of our scope and our limits and so little understanding of the sharp contrast between the functions of the college's Field Study Office and our professional practice requirements as to suggest that we are 'substantively complementary.' ...It is beyond belief that a committee of faculty would suggest that any Department automatically accept a staff it has not selected. To do so would be ruinous to our own efforts at interprofessional cohesion and to the very principles upon which faculty are selected.... The Field Study Office was established with outside money to provide a semester in New York City for some students and faculty. That experience has never served this Department, which does require a professionally supervised professional practicum, in the student's professional area, tied to a course in professional methods. We submit that unless a practicum is selected and supervised by a relevant faculty member, and tied to the students' specific professional courses, that it is not any more an educational experience than any other kind of interesting job. We have from the beginning of that program maintained that meaningful field-based learning must be based in a student's own Department--and not separated as an independent function. We would not dream of arranging or supervising the field learning of a student in nutrition - and would refuse to have a nutritionist supervise the field

experience of a prospective social worker. The Field Work Office should be properly abolished, and each Department permitted to provide such instructions under their own supervision. The costs of the present program should be transferred to Departments who choose to use this teaching method - including ours. Present staff of that Office could of course be candidates for any new positions created by Departments, subject to the usual procedures for faculty selection.

The strong alignment of faculty by department hampered the FSO both because of its non-departmental status and because of the difficulties the staff experienced in trying to recruit faculty to participate in field study instruction that was to be deliberately interdisciplinary in nature. The assessment and recommendations that the College Study Committee made reflected both the desire to have some form of field study for all students and the challenges associated with making field study interdepartmental. This tension about where field study should reside was an ongoing debate.

An administrator described this particular period of evaluation as a time when support for field study ebbed. Compared with the budget-driven ebbing of field study in the early 1990s, he characterized this scrutiny as politically driven. In terms of the College Study, he said, "That was the Dean sort of stirring the pot. And he stirred it in some ways he didn't anticipate what the outcomes were going to be." While the Dean was trying to create greater support for field study, the College Study brought the program under closer scrutiny and heightened the tensions around FSO's relationship with the departments.

Internal and External Status of the Program

Nationally and programmatically, the program was very strong during the early 1980s. According to a confidential report (1980, p. 5):

As the Human Ecology Field Study Office has developed and expanded, it has generated a national reputation as a model experiential learning program. Faculty are increasingly called upon to consult and to write for publication, on such topics as pre-field preparation, linking interdisciplinary experience-based learning and liberal arts education, urban field placement program development...[etc].

From a national perspective, the Program was well-respected and often emulated by other universities and colleges. The FSO faculty reported that they received many inquiries about the Program from other colleges and universities who were trying to develop experiential learning programs. In addition, Program staff took leadership positions with

the National Society for Internships and Experiential Education (NSIEE), which was considered the key association for experiential educators at that time. One faculty member reported the difference between the Program's internal and external status:

And we knew we had a really excellent program. And at that time we were getting such national interest--and that to me was so crazy too--you'd go off campus and everybody was going 'my God, this is the best thing since sliced bread!' How do you do it?...And then you'd come home and be enemy number one.

He added that despite the Program's constant struggle for resources, it was very well supported financially compared with most programs around the country:

It was the Cadillac model, as I used to call it. Compared to other programs, we had the resources to drive the Cadillac, you know. I don't know anybody in this field, probably-- there are very few of us who have had the opportunity to be almost full-time teaching of service-learning courses.... In many ways, it was an incredible luxury and it enabled us to put together a high quality program and run it in a high quality way....[However], there was never a month when I didn't think that we'd all be gone by the end of that year.

The FSO had grown to six faculty and seven courses by the late 1980s. Faculty recalled that student demand was high and there was almost always a wait list for the introductory course. A faculty member reflected:

It was a pretty heady time.... There was a sense that this was a pretty good time for the Program and they had a marvelous faculty and really master group of community educators who were also really progressive politically who were really dedicated to a developmental experience for everyone. Junior faculty could be mentored. Senior staff could share in responsibilities and give each other feedback. It was a really collaborative, rich, nurturing learning environment, which ruined me for the rest of my career....

Despite its programmatic strengths and external popularity, the FSO was always vulnerable politically and the Program faculty reported that they were "constantly under attack" within the College. Program faculty reported a number of factors that led to opposition to the FSO. These factors ranged in a spectrum from intellectual issues to credentials to resource allocation. As one faculty member put it, "[The College faculty] were always very suspicious of us, and the suspicions ran the gamut of political, economic, intellectual and psychological."

Historically, some of the opposition was embedded in resistance to the larger changes that had occurred within the College. When asked about faculty opposition, one faculty member said:

Well, it had all the wrong things. It was experiential--and all of the problems with that. It was interdisciplinary. All the things wrong with that. And the worst thing was --now the charge to the program when it was started, which came out of the change in the College was to develop a curriculum that was experiential and to develop a curriculum in human ecology. Nobody knew what human ecology was--that name came about because Uri Bronfenbrenner suggested it at the 11th hour at a faculty meeting. Nobody in the College wanted to be a College of Human Ecology--they wanted to be Home Economics. In substance and in symbol, we were the enemy to so many of the faculty. And that's why it was so blocked.

Another faculty member voiced an additional perspective about faculty resistance, given the context of the changes brought about by the College Study of 1983 and the support that the new Dean provided the Program both philosophically and financially:

The faculty in the traditional departments all of the sudden began to realize that they would only continue to get resources and get supported to the degree to which they engaged this [new] agenda. While the rhetoric sounded great, I think the actual thought of having to do it and reevaluate it and have their budgets determined by the degree to which they did this really created a backlash. And so when I came...the faculty was just beginning--the conservative elements of the faculty to challenge the leadership of the Dean. And the Dean's most visible manifestation of this Dewey stuff, Freire education pedagogy was the Field Study Program... And so, as a result, it was contested by the traditional faculty who saw the power to change it as slipping away.

An additional faculty member wrote about the challenges of operating the FSO in the context of a College in transition:

I feel the notion of 'core courses' for the College should be considered, and urge that this discussion and redefinition take place initially in the Field Study Committee. I understand, in encouraging us to move in this direction, that we are operating in the larger context of a faculty that does not agree on its definition of itself as a College of Human Ecology, (or even whether or not we should be producing human ecologists at all), that does not agree on the purposes and place of field study in this larger enterprise, and that does not agree on its overall vision of undergraduate and graduate education (Confidential Report, March 1978).

Field Study: Content or Process?

Much of the opposition focused on the perceived content as well as the process of the field study courses. A faculty member described how the name "Human Ecology Field Study" had evolved: "We never thought of field study as a content, it was a process. The content was this human ecology curriculum that we designed." Criticism about the content and process came mostly from the more traditional faculty in the College. A faculty member described the opposition as follows: "And there was clamor in the College for the old academic cry, 'but what's your content?'" This faculty member recalled that one of the department chairs had said, "field study is not a content, it's a method. You can't have a department of writing, and you can't have a department of going to the library and you can't have a department of field study." These concerns had been with the Program since its inception. In a memo to members of the Field Study Review Team (May 21, 1976), the Director summarized review team members' assessment of ID 408 as follows:

Most agreed on the difficulty involved in designing and conducting a seminar that responded to the interests and experiences of 22 students from different placements, and in addition helped them to develop a common theoretical framework.... There was some feeling that there was too much focus on process, rather than content--that the content was overshadowed by [an instructor's] interest in group dynamics.

An administrator characterized the majority of the faculty's impressions about field study as "rinky-dink, non-academic, not rigorous, waste of time. They should be here taking coursework with me, people like me." He added:

I mean not all experiential education is good.... We maintained a very high level of academic quality. These students had to read, they had to write papers, they met in seminar once, sometimes twice a week, and a good long seminar--3 hours. I taught some of them and so I have a sense for the quality.

A faculty member added that the departmental faculty wanted to control field study within the departments and within their disciplines:

Well, they had intern programs in most of [the departments], but they were all taught by adjuncts and lecturers. They knew they had to have it--it's an applied place. They knew they had to have stuff like that but they'd rather do it themselves. And they didn't like the way we did it. In fact, we were much more substantive; our curriculum was much better than theirs. But

they never quite got what we were doing because it didn't fit into the disciplines.

During the 1980s, the ID 200 field prep course was revised to use a more ethnographic approach. After adding ethnography as the 'content,' a Program faculty member had the following thoughts about the response of the other faculty:

One of our astute colleagues in the department said, 'You know, you guys can't win. They told you to get content and you did. Then you got hung because it wasn't *their* content'--meaning the departments'.... This was a College of Home Economics. There were people who spent their lives studying microwaves and detergents and they badgered *us* about *our* content!

It appeared that the criticisms around content were largely about turf issues--the departmental faculty felt that their own disciplinary and subject matter content should have taken precedence for undergraduates in their departments.

The Legitimacy of Credit for Experience

Faculty also questioned the appropriateness of giving credit for field experience. A faculty member described how the central issue with the legitimacy of field study had always been "what sorts of field experience deserve academic credit, and if there's going to be credit, how do you gauge credit?" Faculty were unsure about how to translate field experience into credit legitimately. He described how faculty in his department built constraints around how many field study credits students could obtain. An administrator confirmed this perception of skepticism about granting credit by saying:

And one of the things the faculty started thinking was, 'gee, they take this four credit course, Preparation for Fieldwork, and they do 15 credits and so a huge proportion of their undergraduate career is in this stuff that we don't even really trust.'

A faculty member added that:

I think my own bias is that the concerns were real, that there was a tendency in the flush of this new kind of movement to really be very loose about giving credit. And we used to argue about that--students writing a term paper and going to class three hours a week and spending another nine hours in the library and taking exams, and that only gets three credits. And here is a student who is volunteering six hours a week and you want to give this student six credits.

Part of the concern among faculty around granting credit was who was giving the credit. This faculty member reflected about how the FSO was the first non-departmental entity to grant academic credit in the history of the College:

Well, that in a sense was quite revolutionary! Because certainly the counseling office wasn't giving credit to anybody, right? So the question comes up, who are these people in FSO? Are they full-fledged faculty members?

Program faculty reported that the nature of the credit and the rigor of their courses were often unknown or misunderstood among the other College faculty. One faculty member described how the courses were perceived versus what actually happened within the field courses:

There was some concern that we were giving credit for experience, and that was always something that we went out of our way to say that we didn't do. And the fact that it was a contract-based learning program in which students have to do an assessment of their knowledge, skills, and competencies, and then develop very detailed plans and outcome measures and evaluation structures with triangulated feedback loops to verify internally and externally what they learned--people didn't look very closely at that. [The College faculty] just said 'they get credit for going down to New York and being outside my classroom.'

Another faculty member recalled how departmental faculty often perceived the field study courses to be anti-intellectual:

And then there was some criticism from the more liberal arts-educated faculty who thought that it was pandering to what was a fairly powerful trend in the 70s and 80s toward careerist perspectives on education. Internships [were] the beginning of the corporatization and the capturing of the University by commercial interests.

The projects students completed in the field courses also drew skepticism from some faculty due to the controversial nature of some of the topics. For example, in the preparation for fieldwork course, one faculty member reported, "students got to look at a community service project examining a thorny, messy problem in Ithaca, which was always controversial. And the students often came up with reports that were highly critical of local leadership, including our favorite university."

The effect that the field study experiences had on students was also of concern to some faculty:

And it was also contested by the traditional faculty who were very much taken aback by the increasingly critical, challenging and engaged behavior of undergraduates who found the Field Study Program based upon self-directed learning, and active-learning, and empowered learning a life transforming experience, which resulted in them increasingly being unable to sit through three weekly installments of fifteen minutes of wisdom and truth delivered at the front of the room by middle-aged white men and so students who went through Field Study developed a certain reputation for being engaging in the classroom. And many faculty loved it and they depended upon field study students and welcomed them in the class but those who were very traditionally trained found the other voices engaged in discussion and discourse evidence of a classroom out of control rather than a conversation on track, perhaps.

An administrator added, "They really are more questioning, and not very accepting of what the faculty has to offer... There are some faculty who love that, who really get a lot of strength from that and can build their courses, and there are others who are worried about it, protective about it, and can't make that bridge."

As described earlier, departmental faculty often perceived the FSO to be in direct competition with them for both resources and control of field study courses. Both faculty within and outside of the Program acknowledged also that the College faculty were somewhat jealous of the FSO faculty because they were such a tight-knit, collegial group and because they had such a strong following of students. One faculty member stated:

Almost from the time I arrived in [the 1980s] there was this tension between departments that felt that the FSO was taking funding that could have better gone to other kinds of things, particularly things located in departments. That the Field Study staff were not professorial, were not assigned to a department, and yet they taught, and they were much beloved by students. And I think there was a certain amount of jealousy in terms of, who are these people pretending to be professors? In fact, I know that was true.

One of the FSO faculty recalled:

At one point, at my lowest of low moments, after a faculty meeting in which we had gotten raked over the coals in the most vicious way, there was a woman there who was a mentor... and I met her in the hallway and she said, 'How are you doing?' and I said, 'I'm not doing very well, thanks', and she said, 'You have to understand--the real issue here is you four are a family and they are not, and they resent it. This has nothing to do with what's being talked about--it's deeply psychological.' ... We were so bonded and we clearly loved what we were doing. We had students

lined up at the door--you know, students were taking our courses instead of their courses.

Although the FSO faculty felt that the Program had a strong reputation nationally and a strong curriculum, they had to defend the Program constantly within the College. The daily challenge of defending the Program consumed an enormous amount of energy from the FSO faculty.

Credentials and Appointments

An issue that became more salient over time was the lack of traditional academic credentials for Program faculty. During this time frame, two of the Program faculty were ABD doctoral students and the rest had masters degrees. A faculty member described the marginalization effect that lack of credentials had:

Well, what were the raps against the Field Study Program? First of all that we were not credentialed. That it was a program run by ABDs, with [one exception]...therefore, they're not qualified. So whatever it is that they were doing that students were excited about might be interesting but it's not education because it's not being delivered by educators as defined by terminal degree holders.

Another faculty member described how these dynamics played out in terms of institutionalizing the program and gaining legitimacy:

This is one of the interesting things when you're in a program that is marginal but also under scrutiny and where people don't have the same kinds of credentials, they don't do the same kind of work, they have different world views and they have a different place in the organizational structure. At one point we were trying to collect all the organizational charts of those eras, because [with] each iteration, Field Study was somewhere else and there were some where it wasn't on the chart. So it was coming from the regular faculty....There were people who wanted Field Study removed at all cost to those who would want it under their control, and there were two departments who kept battling to take it in.

Having appointments as Lecturers or Senior Lecturers proved problematic in terms of status and power within the College. One particular source of contention was a proposal to make lecturers ineligible for election to the Faculty Council. In a confidential memo (1984), one of the FSO faculty wrote the following:

As academic faculty with teaching appointments, our responsibilities and concerns parallel those of the tenure-track faculty of the College. Yet as Lecturers who are not based in departments, our status has always been

marginal and our enfranchisement in the College faculty tenuous. In this context, there are several features of Recommendation I,II. 3 that trouble me. First the proposed composition of the Faculty Council not only makes Lecturers in Human Ecology attached to the Field Study Office ineligible for membership in the Council, but also leaves in doubt the matter of how our concerns will be represented through the proposed membership structure (p. 1).

An administrator discussed how the FSO faculty members' credentials and experiences were not a match with traditional tenure track appointments and that there were certain costs associated with not having those credentials:

And then there was a time when we thought, well maybe what we should do is make them be tenure track faculty in departments, except most of them didn't have either the scholarship or the credentials to be tenure track faculty so they couldn't do that.

In addition, FSO faculty reported choosing deliberately *not* to seek tenure track appointments, because of the nature of their work.

One administrator attributed resistance to many faculty members only having academic, not "real world" experience:

Lots and lots of faculty don't have very much experience outside the academic world. They've been in college since they were three and they are suspicious of faculty...who have done other things and who have other non-academic experiences to draw upon which infuse their research and their teaching.... Part of the reason they're opposed to this is they're a bit afraid of it...Because when students come back from field experiences they're bright and aggressive and questioning. They say, 'the way you taught me is not the way it works out there.'

Program Growth

Despite the various challenges the Program faced, during the latter part of the 1970s enrollments in field study courses grew at a rapid rate. Between 1977-78 and 1979-80, the combined enrollments in ID 100 and 200 increased from 29 to 131 students (FSO Five-Year Plan, 1979-80). The FSO staff advised around 300 students per year toward the end of the 1970s. Another indicator of growth was the increasing number of students hired as staff members to assist with advising. In 1978, the Program had four student staff members (FS Newsletter, Spring 1982). By 1983, the FSO was run by eight permanent faculty or staff and 13 student staff members.

Student housing and staff office space in NYC were ongoing issues that challenged the FSO. In the early years, students were housed through the Cornell Medical College housing and the NYC Field Study Program was housed rent-free by Cooperative Extension. By 1982, the housing situation for students looked bleak as the Medical School was no longer able to house FSO students. Faculty stated that the lack of stable student housing and office space left the Program vulnerable in terms of institutionalization.

As the FSO grew and more resources enabled staff to provide more elaborate experiences, they even proposed post-field study support and instruction for students. This idea grew out of student requests to find ways to link their field learning better to their academic experiences and to help ease the transition from intern back to student. The administration and College faculty resisted this idea as such a plan would require additional commitment of credit hours in what was perceived to be an experience that was too credit-intensive already and competed with “regular” courses.

The FSO staff also proposed a program called “A Field Study Fellows Program,” which would bring professional field supervisors to campus to study and contribute to teaching and research efforts in the College. The FSO staff saw this proposal as reciprocal in that it was a way to ‘give back’ to the field supervisors who instructed and supervised students during their internships. There were also proposals to try to create links between field study research projects and ongoing faculty research. A faculty member reported that these ideas were never actualized.

While the FSO staff enjoyed national recognition for their Program, an internally cohesive and collegial staff, and a perception that the program offerings were rich, they faced daily ongoing battles to survive within the College. The grind of these daily battles, in part, led the Director to resign. One battle that was symbolic of many of the issues the Program faced was whether or not the Director could receive a sabbatical. He reported: “when it was convenient to be a sabbatical, it was called a sabbatical, when it was convenient to be a leave, it was called a leave.” He elaborated how decisions around his sabbatical were representative of the politics he had to deal with regarding faculty status:

I had gotten really fed up with the politics--drained, terribly drained by it. I think what pushed me over the edge was the fight over the sabbatical because when I asked for the leave year, [the Dean] said ‘fine,’ and then it got messy, and he said ‘look, I’m going to give you the leave as if it were

a sabbatical, but we can't call it a sabbatical because you're not really faculty.' So all these issues would come up all the time. When I went to [the Dean] and said, 'I'm thinking about not coming back,' then I started getting all this stuff about 'well you have a sabbatical, and sabbatical requires, you have to come back because it's a sabbatical.' Pathetic. And it's like those things happened *all the time*. And we were always fighting fires that were crazy and they had to do with our crazy status.

Faculty and administrators noted what a tremendous loss it was to the Program when the Director resigned. The resignation created some vulnerability in the Program as the change in leadership changed the dynamics among Program faculty and staff. Those dynamics will be discussed in detail in the description of the Program during 1985-1990.

Resource Issues

Despite the extent to which the FSO had grown during this period, the Program faculty were always under pressure to secure adequate funding for the FSO. In a confidential memo to a dean (June 1981), one faculty member wrote the following response to the Dean's 1981-82 budget reduction for the FSO:

Since September, 1979 the Field Study Office has experienced a cut in its M&O budget of 39% (from a total of \$24,601 to \$20,000 per year plus an estimated [conservatively] 20% increase in fixed costs during that time period due to price increases). During the same time student enrollment has risen 55%. Professional staffing has increased by ¼ FTE. Two new courses have been added.... Thus, from 1979-1982, during a time of program expansion, the staff and faculty of the FSO will have reduced fixed costs by approximately one-half. As you noted when we examined the budget on May 12, there is 'no fat left to cut here.'

In response to the budget cuts, Program staff canceled the summer field study program for 1982, managed with an understaffed administrative staff, and engaged students as teaching assistants and course coordinators. The FSO faculty were frustrated with the meager support and resources they received, particularly since the FSO courses were mandated by the College. According to one faculty member, the FSO cost "approximately 20% less than the cost per credit hour used by the University to figure accessory instruction.... I feel certain that we operate at a more efficient expense rate than upper division courses offered by the College departments" (Confidential Memo, June 1981, p. 3). Since Arts & Sciences courses generated higher tuition rates than the CHE, the FSO operated at a lower expense rate because of the number of Arts & Science students enrolled in field study courses.

The Tumultuous Years: 1985-1992

A faculty member reported that more than a decade after the Program's birth, there was still residue from the difficulties associated with transforming the College of Home Economics into a College of Human Ecology. He remarked that, "It was a college that was somewhat in post-shock syndrome in that in the early 70s it became clear that a college focused on Home Economics did not have much of a future in higher ed, particularly at a place like Cornell." Some College faculty were still ambivalent about or opposed to the larger changes that occurred in the CHE since the 1970s. According to several faculty members, the FSO was perceived to be the most visible and concrete manifestation of what was supposed to be a problem-centered, experiential college curriculum. This faculty member described how other experiential-related initiatives were not successful: "And then they hoped to set up interdisciplinary action research teams to really begin to develop long term research programs on the state's big quality of life policy issues. That never happened. People across departments couldn't cooperate."

Significant Curricular Changes

The philosophy of the FSO at this time was described by one faculty member as follows:

There's a strong statement about the importance of encouraging critical inquiry, to assist both community learners and student learners involved in what they described as reciprocal learning projects to develop an analysis of sort of larger structural forces shaping social inequality--very much along the lines of John Dewey or Paulo Freire.

This philosophy and focus on reciprocity and community was most explicit when a new course instructor took over the ID 408 New York City course in 1984. The new instructor made several key curricular changes within the NYC Program, which were significant in terms of focus for the Program. The FSO faculty decided that despite the students' general preference for private sector field placements, it was essential to focus part of the curriculum on problem solving for communities, which was consistent with the College's mission. They also wanted to make sure that their field placements were reciprocal in nature and that the students were giving something back to the communities of New York City for the experiences they were given through their field study. A faculty member said, "The Program and the students as an institution had a relationship with the city that we

wanted to respond to--the city had given something to us as a learning laboratory and we wanted to give something back.” The new instructor, along with other Program faculty decided to change the current structure of the New York course from four days in the field and one day in seminar to three days in the field, half a day in seminar and one and a half days doing an action research project in the community.

One notable project the students carried out was the Essex Street Market project, which began in 1986 and was carried out over three or four semesters. The Essex Street Market had existed since 1939 and provided space for European Jews and other immigrants to sell clothing and food in a market setting. By 1986 the city-owned market was faced with possible extinction when the city decided not to renew the merchants’ lease. The city had allowed the market to fall into disrepair although it continued to collect rent from the low-income merchants and wanted to divest itself of the market. When it became clear that the city was going to open renovation and operation proposals to competitive bidding, the merchants felt that they couldn’t compete with larger, wealthier corporations. In order to beat out the competition, the merchants needed to submit an innovative yet feasible proposal to the Department of Ports, International Trade, and Commerce to maintain the market themselves.

Cornell’s ID 408 students turned this situation into an action research project with the goal of promoting positive social change for these low-income merchants and residents of the Lower East Side. According to a faculty member, the students “...did a feasibility study of merchant-managed co-op serving the economic development needs of the city while also protecting these historic first-generation businesses. And the report was done in an action research model.” The students engaged in extensive research to create a proposal that “totally bowled over the Essex Street merchants.” Students created everything from design plans to business plans to develop the proposal.

One of the students involved in the project had the following to say about his participation:

It gave me a better outlook on the world; I felt enhanced as a person. I had served an internship at Shearson-Lehman in New York before this, and it was a very corporate, very executive world. So I saw that side of life. What the Essex Street project did was make me realize that decisions at whatever level affects communities. When a city decides not to renew a lease for 55 merchants, it’s not only putting those people out of work, but

it's also affecting their families, changing the culture of the neighborhood, and making it harder for low-income people to afford food and get credit on groceries.... No matter what field I go into for a career, this experience has taught me that I'm not going to sit on the sidelines; I'm going to get involved so that important community issues aren't lost in the shuffle (FISP Newsletter, 1988, p. 5).

One of the College faculty involved with the project had a very positive experience facilitating the project and reflected on how the project was beneficial to student learning. She said:

Students who are placed only in glitzy business internships don't get exposed to low-income issues, blue-collar workers, the problems of income disparity, and the down side of 'gentrification.' Or how hard these problems are to solve. Students in the project also had a chance to learn a whole set of skills they wouldn't be likely to get from either undergraduate courses or work, such as interviewing techniques and research design.... The students went on to analyze the data, prepare a 92-page written report, and do an oral presentation to the community (FISP Newsletter, 1988, p. 5).

Another faculty member added: "Most of the faculty didn't want to come to New York. Getting them out of Ithaca was like opening a can without a can opener." He went on to describe a case in which it worked well for a departmental faculty member to become involved:

[The course instructor] really got her in his participatory research projects because she also had a problem--she taught the stats course--students hated it and then she watched [the instructor] and realized that the students were having to learn stats in order to do this research on the streets of Manhattan. And she discovered--gosh, they were liking it and they were even learning it!

The faculty member who initiated the change toward an action research model reflected on its initial implementation:

And students the first year tried to get me fired. How dare I take one-third of their week, which was promoted to self-promotion, and require that they get engaged in a civic engagement effort. And then the project, the experiences of the projects, working with struggling communities, a lot of immigrant communities, on a range of issues, became so challenging and life transforming for so many students in the class that it became the most highly evaluated part of already a well-appreciated program.

He then described how the project had significant impact on the community and became a political issue:

They produced a wonderful report. We then closed the market down and we got somebody who was like the lowest level staff person in Cuomo's office to say that he was coming. And with that we could then go around to all the local officials and say that the Governor's office would be represented. And they thought that the Governor was coming. So we had 40 elected officials show up at this very battered public market, which brought Channel 4 TV, the *Boston Globe* came, the *New York Times* came. And this undergraduate sophomore and junior report generated this huge debate. The first New York Times-sponsored mayoral primary TV debate, the first question asked from the audience was 'What is your position on the Cornell Public Market Study?'

The rationale for the action research field project included engaging more departmental faculty in field study, finding a better way to link theory and practice for students, and creating a way to promote social change. Although participation among departmental faculty was small, this faculty member described the strategy for engaging faculty. Departmental faculty often found that their subject matter, such as economics or statistics, came to life for students who were applying their knowledge and skills to real problems. He elaborated:

I always tried to get co-sponsorship for the action research credit. It was a way of trying to build links back to the department. I was convinced that we couldn't just have students go through the traditional medical school [model of] education. They needed theory of the field, some methods and then the last year they get to do the actual field study application. It's like the medical school internship but that we would need to experientialize the entire curriculum and connect theory to practice from day one, which meant getting the traditional faculty engaged in the powerful value of experiential education in the action research project and that there was a way that they could get excited about incorporating into their methods courses. And we were very strategic and systematic about picking out in each of the six departments in the college, who were the leading opinion makers in curriculum discussions in those departments as best as we could figure it out as outsiders? And then we propositioned them by free plane tickets, and...not asking them to do much work to participate in the action research project. And we got a bunch of them, they became very excited about and supportive about it and began to incorporate elements of experiential education in their intro and intermediate undergraduate courses, so we considered it a big success.

Despite the positive outcomes of the projects for both students and the community, the course was not without problems. Initially the change to an action research model was difficult to make as Program faculty met some resistance from students. There were semesters when a majority of the students were on Wall Street rather than in non-profit or public agencies, and the students often wondered how this community experience was relevant to their internships in the private sector. A faculty member recalled his frustration with this situation:

All of the sudden, here I have this wonderful curriculum, which talks about adult education and Paulo Freire, and John Dewey. Great organizational behavior from a critical perspective...urban ecology...that was the curriculum. It turned out that these folks basically wanted the 'one-minute manager' lectures once a week and nothing else--just get the hell out of the way and let us do our finishing school activities for the upwardly mobile future investment banking class. So I got very disenchanted.

Another faculty member added:

Well, initially, the first group of students really objected to having to do it. When they went to Wall Street at that time, they all went down there because they wanted to build a resume--none of them ever went for the right reasons.... So they didn't like it when we told them that they had a day a week that we were going to work on this project. So that was sort of their initial response. But in the end...I think it was an experience that they wouldn't have traded. In the end I think they thought it was a very valuable experience.

Increasing interest in private sector placements for ID 408 was first noted by faculty in 1981 (FS Advisory Council meeting minutes, December 1981). A faculty member reported that this shift made it increasingly difficult to fill human service-oriented placements and created difficulties in integrating the private, public, and service sector perspectives within the curriculum.

College and University administrators also resisted the New York course at certain times because of the often political nature of the action research projects. According to one faculty member:

Not only did the students do participatory action research, they arranged demonstrations. Picketed--they got into all kinds of trouble, which [had to be cleaned up]. Fortunately, [the Dean] believed in academic freedom. So, it was a precursor to how political service-learning should be.

The development office and senior administration reportedly became involved with the Essex Street Market project when a Cornell alumnus, who owned a NY-based supermarket chain wanted to buy the ESM land for expansion and felt that the students' activities were a direct threat to his efforts. The community projects were often controversial since according to one faculty member:

...when you work with those people who are disadvantaged and you begin to mess with the power structures, whether it's the City of New York--in this case it was a donor to Cornell. And the word was, 'stop [the instructor] or we're not going to give any money....' I thought that they were matters of principle and they fell under academic freedom.

The Dean of the College at that time supported the faculty when these issues of academic freedom arose with community projects.

Perceived Quality of the Courses

In terms of quality of the field study courses at this time, one administrator reflected about how the New York City (ID 408) course had developed and become more rigorous over time, as evidenced by projects such as the Essex Street Market plan. However, most faculty in the College were unaware of the process and content of the course and made various assumptions about it. She stated that, with respect to the New York City course:

Initially when it started, it was nothing more than a personal growth program.... It wasn't a very deep kind of scholarly, academic understanding about what was going on. It was much more learning, personal development and personal growth. The fact that the faculty in the college didn't have very much respect for it was probably deserved. [The new instructor for the NYC course] knew how to do this. He was very, very good.... And it really does have some scholarly grounding and it really had a lot of academic integrity, but faculty don't typically go [to NYC], so they don't really see, they don't hear, they don't know what goes on and they think of it as an internship. And I think that was the problem the Field Study Program had from the beginning--finding ways of communicating with faculty who were in the department about what it was that was really going on. The staff were not very good at doing that communication and they sort of resented it for having to tell anybody.

Program faculty concurred that there was a deep resistance to any sort of personal learning and personal growth, particularly if there was academic credit attached to it. One faculty

member defended personal learning as one outcome of the program and described the nature of faculty resistance in the following way:

But I still think it's just a bias against not just experiential learning but personal learning. Our courses provoked students in deeply personal ways. Raised values, issues, made them think about who they are--you don't do that in a classroom. You go through the knowledge units and give them an exam at the end. Even in the internship courses, that's how they would teach them.

An administrator raised some questions about the quality of the Ithaca-based field courses and discussed how one of the field prep courses was changed during this time and became less legitimate:

We had a course for a while called Preparation for Field Work [ID 100], which sometimes was a good course but degenerated into--Cornell did a really bizarre thing in that somebody who was doing it was very interested in literacy and so they used it as a vehicle to do literacy work with Cornell employees and to get students to volunteer to do that and give credit. So employees did tutoring on literacy and that was the preparation for fieldwork. Once you do something like that you destroy whatever credibility the course ever had as a legitimate pre-field course.

Two other faculty cited this change as detrimental to the cohesion and legitimacy of the Program in general.

In addition, one of the Program faculty members thought that some of the courses such as the Field Preparation course looked more like "workshops" than "regular courses." In particular, he thought that the Field Preparation course focused more on participatory action research projects than actual field preparation. He stated that he could have envisioned different introductory courses, such as an introduction to the theory of experiential learning. He added that at the time an administrator in the College wanted to make Field Study "more academic;" however, this administrator never explained clearly what that meant, making it difficult for the Program faculty to make sense of and respond to the administration's requests.

When describing ID 406, a faculty member criticized the process by which students were supervised during the early 1980s:

And some of the stuff that was going on was pretty crummy. The Field Study Program...had a program where [the students] could go anywhere they wanted and do anything they wanted. Well, if you send a student to

LA from Cornell--I mean maybe they'll have a great experience and maybe they won't. They'll probably think they had a great experience, but there's certainly not a lot of guidance about how to be reflective about it and you just can't do it over the telephone...And the faculty saw it as 'give me 15 credits and I'll go have fun in Boston' or whatever. I think some of the stuff that went on in Ithaca was not as well-structured as it might have been. It was fewer credits. There was an urge to let students do what they wanted to do with less appreciation of the academic integrity that this program needed to have.

While faculty sometimes had concerns about the quality of the field study courses, both FSO and departmental faculty agreed that perceptions about the quality of courses were often based on lack of information about the content and process of the courses.

Students' Experiences in Field Study

The process approach that was characteristic of most of the field study course offerings sometimes required adjustment for students, particularly for those from outside the College of Human Ecology. In the Spring 1982 Field Study Newsletter, a student in the Arts College⁶ reported her experience participating in ID 200:

The first meeting of the prerequisite class, ID 200, was quite an eye-opening experience. We sat in a circle and read the course description. I was in shock. 'Perception'? 'Participant Observation'? 'Verbal and Nonverbal Communication'? What *was* this stuff? What happened to term papers, prelims, extensive readings? This *was* supposed to be Cornell, an Ivy League school, wasn't it? My first reaction was to rebel--when the ID 200 instructor asked for suggestions, I responded 'teach the course as it would be run in the Arts College.' I'm glad this 'advice' was ignored.... ID 200 ultimately turned out to be the most valuable course I'd taken on campus. Consequently, I embarked on ID 408 with a very different attitude toward Human Ecology, experiential learning (the magical Field Study buzzword) and the Arts College. Getting away from the University (and more specifically, from the Arts answer to learning: 'Lectures - Libraries - Laboratories') and working in a 'real' environment, combined with assignments geared toward constant analysis of my surroundings and my own values were experiences I could have gained only through 'HumEc' Field Study.... As the semester in New York went on, I became less and less willing to identify myself as an Artsie - for two reasons. First, I no longer wanted to sound elitist (something I'd honestly enjoyed at the beginning of my ID 200 experience). But more importantly, I'd actually come to respect Human Ecology and the forms of education it made possible.... Ironically, the major drawback to having

⁶ Although FSO course offerings were offered to Cornell students from all colleges, a majority of students were from Human Ecology.

taken so many out-of-College credits is that now I *have* to take only Arts courses.

This student's reflections highlight the unique process and content of the curriculum and common perceptions about it, the perceived benefits of alternative ways of learning, and academic status issues that existed within the university.

Student support for the FSO was very strong. By 1985 there were student-initiated Friends of Field Study network groups in NYC, Boston, Washington, DC, and San Francisco, with plans underway for ones in Chicago and Ithaca. These groups were formed so that alumni could network as well as offer resources for current Field Study students. The NYC group alone had 180 field study alumni. Groups initiated activities such as fundraising for an emergency fund for field study students in New York. Alumni also designated alumni giving for FSO.

The faculty had what appeared to be an almost cult-like following among the students. In addition to creating this large alumni network the students stayed in close touch with Program faculty. Field Study courses were often considered some of the best courses that students took during their undergraduate careers. The Program faculty were very serious about teaching and reportedly would spend hours talking about curriculum and pedagogy with one another. One of the Program faculty members was the only person in the entire College of Human Ecology to have won the SUNY Chancellor's Award for Outstanding Teaching. Students created a fund in honor of a former FSO faculty member to provide funding for students who needed financial assistance to participate in a field study experience. Student support of the Program was particularly strong during the 1980s and when it appeared that the FSO was in jeopardy at different points in its history, students and alumni would often organize letter-writing campaigns in support of the Program.

International Focus and the Creation of the Field and International Study Program

In October 1985 the College faculty voted unanimously to merge the Field Study Office with the International Education Program, both of which were housed in the CHE. Consequently the Field Study program was renamed the Field and International Study Program (FISP). The merger was created to improve administrative efficiencies in advising and placing students in field study and study abroad, so that information for off-campus

study was available in one place. There was also some efficiency associated with integrating curricula and providing preparation for both field study and international study; however, faculty and staff involved with the International Education Program resisted the merger because of potential loss of autonomy.

One faculty member described how some of the political dynamics of the merger were associated with perceptions about the International Education Program. "That program was under assault for a variety of reasons, in part, some of the same intellectual reasons [as the FSO]." According to this faculty member, in addition to the perceptions about the link between academics and study abroad, the IEP was under attack for personnel-related reasons.

The solution to get rid of [a staff member] and to get rid of what people saw as warm fuzzy, and you know--students could go look at a book--they didn't need study abroad advisors. And this was before Cornell Abroad, which was very controversial...and there was a lot of controversy on the Cornell campus about that, which was ironic because half of the Ministers of Agriculture in the world in maybe the 60s and 70s had Cornell degrees.

Once a new coordinator was hired for the international study program, faculty started complaining about the proposal to add a course for study abroad preparation. Faculty reportedly saw such a course as unnecessary and yet another infringement on an already crowded departmental curriculum. Eventually courses were added both to prepare students for study abroad and to prepare them for re-entry once they returned. The post-field course was also designed to help facilitate an intellectual analysis of their experiences abroad.

Battles Within the College and the University

The period between 1985-1988 was described as a tumultuous time both within the College and the University as the FISP faculty fought a series of battles. One such battle was a failed attempt to house an international business internship program, which was part of the Center for International Studies, within the FISP. This battle took place university-wide since, according to one faculty member, "...the international pieces of the campus were annoyed that the CHE wouldn't take this program that had \$100K attached to it and two more years of funding. And there were people in the College who just didn't believe that that was our business--we were a domestic program." The University-wide program

eventually was housed in the business school; however, the faculty member who led the effort “paid a very big price for championing the idea.”

Leadership and Staff Changes

When the Director went on sabbatical during 1984-1985, one of the Program faculty members was named Acting Director. It was difficult to lead the FISP during this time because “being an Acting Director is in some ways...very powerless...you’re minding the store but there are decisions to be made, there are battles to be fought, and I think that during that year we lost some ground.” When the Director resigned in 1985, the Acting Director was appointed the new Director. The new Director also became Director of the International Internship Program housed in the Center for International Studies in 1986, which some faculty reported weakened the position of the FISP since it did not have full-time leadership. The Director decided to go on sabbatical in 1988 and wanted to return to teaching full-time after the sabbatical, so the Dean began the search for a new director in 1988.

The dynamics of the FISP faculty also changed during this time. The faculty hired some additional instructors who ultimately were deemed a mismatch with the Program. Tensions among FISP faculty created some divisiveness, which was difficult to deal with because of the uncertainty about who would lead the Program permanently. A faculty member recalled how academic status issues were also salient during this time: “There were a lot of interpersonal issues going on at that time, and they were feeling very embattled and they kept thinking that the College was going to ditch the Program and they wanted to be faculty people but they didn’t want to do what you have to do if you want to be a faculty person.” A Program faculty member added that the dynamics within the FISP were characterized by “psychological dysfunctions” and “internalized victimization” because of the toll that the new interpersonal conflicts and the ongoing academic debates had taken on the FISP faculty.

Around that same time the College began the search for a new dean. One faculty member reported that during the interview process the candidate who eventually became dean said, “one of the problems is this college spends too much money on field study.” These sentiments were reportedly shared by the search committee for the Dean as well, and the implication was that certain faculty prepped the candidate about the issues surrounding

FISP. Program faculty felt that there was a marked difference of support for the Program under different administrations and were concerned about losing programmatic support from the Dean's Office. The outgoing Dean had the following reflections about the Program and its future in 1988:

Ten years ago, the Field Study Program was much smaller and, I am bound to say, considerably more tenuous in its status and position within the College, despite the fact that an earlier faculty committee had proposed experiential learning as an important component of undergraduate education.... Experiential learning, as I and many others have written elsewhere, is not the easiest concept to put forward within the context of a rigorous curriculum such as that provided by the several departments in the College of Human Ecology.... There is a point of view which holds that students will have all the rest of their lives to "learn off campus" and that their college years should be spent in the classroom, laboratory and library because that is an opportunity which seldom comes again. I must say that I am somewhat sympathetic to that point of view, and I think for some students it is the correct analysis of how they should be spending their time. On the other hand, I am also a strong devotee of experiential learning based both in our own country and abroad. I support this form of education not only on theoretical grounds, but because I have seen its practical effect in many, many students where their education has been positively influenced and improved. For me, the most important aspect of experiential learning is the opportunity to test in a variety of settings what one has learned in the classroom, the laboratory and the library, and to begin to put together in one's mind one's own ideas with the way they are regarded in practice. If that kind of learning can take place during a college term, then the student returns to the classroom with a more sophisticated and analytic approach to the books, lectures and discussions. At its best, experiential learning will be both deepening and broadening (FISP Newsletter, 1988, p. 3).

The faculty members reportedly were divided in their support of the newly hired Director of the FISP. Several Program faculty felt that the new Director did not have adequate background in experiential learning and that the College had hired him for his academic credentials, which were in a traditional discipline. His hiring coincided with the new administration within the College. According to one faculty member, the new Director was given the ultimatum to "either have [the Field Study faculty] quit being such dissidents, bring us into mainline, get us in a department and get rid of the Program or get rid of the Program." There were internal schisms in the Program when discussions surfaced again about whether or not FISP should be housed within a department.

There were also schisms surrounding philosophical and intellectual approaches to running the Program. One faculty member characterized the Program faculty in general as “politically left-of-center;” however, he acknowledged that some Program faculty were more conservative politically than others. Another faculty member reported being told by the FISP Director: “You know the problem is that you people all think you’re ‘60s community organizers.” These divisions were manifested in some deliberate cultural changes that were made by the Director, according to some FISP faculty. Faculty reported that as the administration called for downsizing, the Director fired a staff member who had been on disability for injuring herself on the job. He had murals that were painted by students on the walls of the advising center painted over and changed the computers in the office from PCs to Macs. A couple of faculty described these changes as not collaborative and moving away from a culture that had been built of deep respect and caring for colleagues and students.

A key FISP faculty member decided to leave the University in 1990, which left a gap in the NYC Program. There were issues about promotions for Program faculty, which determined whether they would receive three or five-year contracts. The administration decided not to renew the contract of a recently hired faculty member. According to one of her colleagues the administration felt that their commitment to her was only short-term. He stated, “Now there’s a culture at Cornell that a lecturer is a lecturer and they get a three-year contract, but they are more disposable than janitors. But in the Field Study Program, we saw lecturers as an alternative track....”

A couple of faculty members recalled that the administration was getting frustrated at this time because, “it was proving to be more trouble than [the administration] thought to quiet us or get rid of us and [the Director] was not very skilled.” As a result, the administration moved the Director to New York City, but retained his title. One faculty member reported that the administration “had de facto made it a directorless program.”

Support for the international part of the Program was also weak and according to one faculty member, “There was this erosion about what it meant to have an international presence.” This erosion played out when the administration tried to move the lead international faculty member first under the supervision of the Dean of Counseling office and then under the Registrar, further marginalizing that aspect of the Program. This faculty

member reflected on why the international piece was eliminated: "Well, you know the debate---when a university has something, why should a college pay its money to have one, regardless of whether it's serving those students' needs or not. Well, the argument was, 'well, we've got Cornell Abroad...we pay fees for that'." When describing the demise of the FISP, one faculty member provided an alternative perspective when she said, "There was an international study piece to it and nobody could ever figure out what that was all about and it didn't seem to generate more international students participating in international programs. So it kind of went by the wayside."

Ongoing Academic Debates

One faculty member recalled that the intellectual debates around field study became more intense during the late '80s. Faculty questioned continually why students would need field preparation or training in ethnography. According to this faculty member, the arguments included: "We're not a sociology department. Why do they need to understand nonverbal behavior? Why do they need to know reflective journal writing? Why do they have to understand David Kolb's theory of experiential learning?" Field study was often seen as beneficial but as an extra benefit, and not at the core of what students should be learning. One faculty member said the following about how these dynamics played out:

There was this erosion of the idea that fieldwork is an intellectual activity and requires intellectual preparation and not just the content in one's major. So we stayed away from all that career development stuff, and all that dress-for-success stuff. One of the things that I always felt, and I think we all felt this, was that there was somebody looking over our shoulder in terms of curriculum development.

Another faculty member described how some departmental faculty continued to see Field Study as student services and felt that it "shouldn't look like or be rewarded like" traditional academic learning. This perception was confirmed when one of the FISP faculty members was offered a student services position when the Ithaca Program was phased out eventually.

The Demise of the Ithaca Program

In 1992 a confluence of factors led the administration to eliminate the core structure of the FISP, which was based in Ithaca. According to one faculty member, the Dean and Associate Dean had created a faculty committee to evaluate the FISP, particularly its

content, and the committee decided that, “there’s not much here that’s valuable except for the New York City semester, and so that was retained and the rest of it was dropped...And it was also probably not well-managed and cost a lot more money than it should have.” A Program faculty member reflected that perhaps the Program was overstaffed during that time and occupied a large amount of office space, which other Programs and departments in the College resented.

In a 1992 article in *The Cornell Daily Sun*, the Dean was quoted as saying, “We have a total sense of commitment for field studies.... We need to find the most cost-effective way and keep the commitment to quality” (Stuhl, 1992, p. 8). Program faculty asserted, however, that program quality had diminished during the downsizing and defended the importance of the whole curriculum that they had established. One program faculty member said, “It looks like the academic component of the program is being diminished and we’ll just be another co-op program.... FIS might still be on the bench but it will not be the premiere program it has been...(Stuhl, 1992, p. 8). The administration’s proposed changes were described as follows:

Among the possible changes in field study are the operation of Ithaca internships out of individual academic departments, rather than FIS; increased interaction with Student Services and Cornell Abroad; the elimination of prerequisite classes; and the continuation of the ‘Urban Semester,’ a new program based in New York City, said [one of the College administrators] (Stuhl, 1992, p.8).

Some of the interpersonal tensions between FISP faculty and the administration were highlighted in this article. For example, with regard to how the changes were implemented, an administrator was quoted as saying, “some former FIS people were committed to social change but were very resistant to change themselves” (Stuhl, 1992, p. 8). He added that faculty members seemed resistant to increasing both enrollments and their own workloads. A Program faculty member disagreed and said, “We proposed extra teaching loads to [the Dean]” (Stuhl, 1992, p. 8) and cited that the field study courses were much more labor intensive than regular lecture courses. Tensions also existed within the FISP between faculty and the Director. Stuhl reported that, “In response to internal problems the faculty passe[d] a unanimous vote of no-confidence in [the Director] and asked the dean to remove him in the Spring of 1990. Despite the vote, [the Director]

remained FISP Director until last year" (1992, p.8). Program faculty stated that the administration had dealt with some of the tensions by moving the Director to New York City full-time to run the remaining program there and reinvent it as the Urban Semester.

When asked why the FISP was eliminated, one administrator in the College responded that the College had faced over 19 budget cuts⁷ between the period of 1988-1998 and that, "This wasn't business as usual." The budget cuts were relentless and when push came to shove the faculty were not going to eliminate core courses required in majors to keep the FISP, which was perceived as "important but not at the core." Another administrator assessed these changes in the following way:

Well, we cut all the programs [in the College]. When we felt that we had cut all the faculty we could cut, so to speak, then it was a matter of, well, are you going to cut your core academic programs or are you going to cut something that's more peripheral? And we didn't cut it, we just said, look, we can't afford all of this, so what's the thing we want to do most? We wanted to do the New York City thing. [We wanted the New York City course because it] offered a distinctive experience for students and was one that was popular with students that had been large enrollments.

In addition, the first administrator stated that although was a cadre of faculty who were enthusiastic about the Program, college-wide faculty support was not very strong for the Program, particularly since it was so credit intensive and prevented students from taking more regular departmental courses. "You know, everyone could say, theoretically, it's great, but do you need the full course [meaning the field prep course] or could you do something at the beginning of the semester?" According to this administrator, both he and other faculty saw the pre-field preparation course as beneficial but not necessary. "It was both the strength of the Program and sort of a doing in of the Program."

An administrator also described the status of FISP faculty as problematic in institutionalizing the program. According to him, the Program faculty originally were offered tenure track faculty positions but they said they would prefer to focus on teaching only; and "later there were some requests...for tenure track and we were not inclined to go that way." Although the elimination of the program was often called a "budgetary issue,

⁷ The core of the FISP was not the only casualty that occurred during the budget cuts of the late 1980s and early 1990s. According to one administrator, each department lost at least one tenure track or tenured position. There were also cuts in support staff and cooperative extension. The undergraduate program in social work also was eliminated, although reportedly more for qualitative reasons than budgetary reasons.

not a political issue,” one faculty member believed that, “the sense of embattlement that the staff had and the kinds of bizarre things that they did as a result of it really sealed what happened to the program.”

A third administrator reflected on downsizing the FISP and the decision making process around budget cuts:

Well, the ostensible reason was budget. We had a budget cut and that was an easy place to cut because it wasn't a department. But I had several budget cuts during the....time I was [an administrator], and I managed to protect it and I did protect it. [The dean at the time] didn't. So we just did things differently.

The core / periphery idea of where the Program was located came to the forefront when the College administration was faced with making budget cuts. The extent to which the FISP was seen as peripheral varied by the administration over the years and influenced how vulnerable the Program was to a reduction in resources.

A couple of faculty and administrators questioned whether the decision to downsize the FISP was really a budgetary one. One faculty member acknowledged the budget crisis and added:

But I think that if the FSO had been more strongly supported by the faculty as a whole, maybe it might have been feasible to make some cuts elsewhere. Sure, during [the Dean's] years, especially the first half of [the Dean's] term, the budget crunches were very great and I'm sure that was a great part of it. But I would still argue that the FSO was always in a kind of vulnerable position from the point of view of the faculty--not from the administration's point of view....I'm sure there were certain restraints but when choices had to be made, the FSO was certainly much more vulnerable than departmental faculty...I guess it just never reached the point where the faculty as a whole would consider it equivalent as a department.

While Program faculty often cited the administration as responsible for downsizing the FISP, this faculty member pointed out that departmental faculty had the power to influence such decisions as well.

When asked how faculty and students in the CHE reacted to what is often referred to as the “dismantling of the Field Study Program,” an administrator replied:

Well, on the part of the faculty who support it--anger and upsetness. Students--hard to say. There are some outlets for the students. They

could go to the Washington program, and they could go to the Urban Semester. They could, of course, go abroad in Cornell Abroad.

In general the administration perceived that students could find comparable experiences elsewhere, although Program faculty argued that the FISP experience was not comparable to experiences such as Cornell in Washington or Cornell Abroad because of its unique curriculum. An article written in *The Cornell Daily Sun* on October 15, 1992 described some of the internal tensions and debates around changes in the Field Study Program. The article described student reaction to the changes as mixed.

While some fear a change in quality of field study, others are especially concerned over the removal of the prerequisite course. 'My FIS internship was the best thing I did here,' said [a FIS student]. '[The prerequisite course, FIS 200] was very valuable--it makes you think about a lot of things and teaches you how to observe,' she said, adding that 'the academic reflections puts it all in perspective' (Stuhl, 1992, p. 8).

In the article another FIS student⁸ stated, "[FIS 200] was not necessary.' [She] added, however, that the course did help to teach observation skills to some in the class" (Stuhl, 1992, p. 8).

The administration decided to retain the New York field course (ID 408) since it was more popular than the Ithaca field program. This course was renamed The Urban Semester. One faculty member found it ironic that the Dean announced the Urban Semester Program as a "new program" when a majority of the field placements remained the same and elements of the initial curriculum were retained. This faculty member stated that, "[The Dean] eventually changed the name of it and then announced...that there was a brand new initiative called the Urban Semester, ignoring the 20 years that we had been in New York." In the 1991-1992 Annual Report of the College of Human Ecology, it stated:

To further enhance students' preparation for future employment, the College plans to expand student opportunities for internships in medical, urban policy, law and business settings in New York City through our newly formed Urban Semester Program.

As part of the changes handed down by the administration, the field prep courses taught in Ithaca were eliminated, which reduced the credit requirements from 19 to 15 for the New York program. In general, field study experiences that were less credit intensive

⁸ While reviewing the article, a faculty member noted that this student actually failed the course.

seemed more acceptable to the faculty and administrators. According to one administrator, "Now the program in New York and the semester in Washington, which we don't administer, but those we'd try to split out the credit some, so it's not a full 15 hours of credit for field experience." Reducing the requirements also encouraged more students from other Colleges to enroll in the courses, which resulted in greater tuition revenue for the CHE because students from the endowed colleges paid higher tuition. A faculty member reflected on the rationale for these curricular changes:

So by dropping [field] prep, the idea was that they could jack up the revenues by getting more Arts and Sciences [students], because Cornell has an interesting balance of payments between the private side and the public side. So they made a lot more money to transfer tuition from 15 credits than they did by requiring 19 [which included prep].

An administrator pointed out that despite the credit requirement changes, there were still relatively few Arts and Science students who enroll in the Urban Semester:

In our Urban Semester Program, which is cheaper and actually, I think is better than the CIW Program from a scholarly point of view, nevertheless, we get very few students from the endowed side taking it because the Arts College won't give them credit for it. They don't count it as Cornell courses.

Another curricular change involved changing FIS 100, a prep course for general field study, into a course that taught students about literacy in preparation for their participation in a program called Cornell Literacy and Service Program (CLASP) where they tutored Cornell employees who were learning how to read. As described earlier, a few faculty members felt that the curricular change diverted attention away from actual field preparation and changed the fundamental nature of the course.

The Urban Semester Years: 1993-2002

In terms of curriculum, the New York Urban Semester course, which had been under new leadership since 1990, evolved to have more of a multicultural focus. When asked about why curricular changes occurred, an administrator responded that the new instructor was "trying to take advantage of New York and our own college commitment to doing more in multicultural. So it was certainly a consistent thing that we [as a College] were trying to do." Multicultural in this context meant a greater knowledge of the diverse

New York neighborhoods as well as attracting a more diverse student body to participate in the Program.

With regard to the original New York curriculum with the action research project, this administrator said, "Students loved it and they did great things. And it worked well for [the instructor]--it was sort of just not the direction that [the new instructor] took it. It was also the case--it was extraordinarily demanding of the students even after the semester was over." A faculty member agreed that New York City Program was labor intensive for both the instructor and the students and described how the former instructor often spent time after the end of the semester completing the action research project students carried out. Students are still engaged in community and service-oriented experiences one day a week; however, the experiences are less intense than during the pre-Urban Semester period.

Community service-learning occurs exclusively in local schools so that the Program can maintain focus and sustain efforts with community partners. Although the Program faculty member used the term "community service learning" in written program materials, he and the students tended not to use that language in the context of their daily activities. In addition to the one day per week in the schools, students served as interns for three days a week in New York City organizations in a variety of fields and industries. The primary purpose of the internship was for students' personal and professional development.

After the elimination of the FISP, the Urban Semester Program also developed a closer relationship with the Cornell Medical School since many of the College's students were pre-med and wanted research internships, although there were still a number of students who worked on Wall Street. An administrator described this shift toward medical internships:

...about half the students down there right now are pre-med, since that's the way of the world right now. And they're doing internships in New York hospitals. And we have talked at great length about whether or not what we could do is have a second seminar for them focusing on health care and medicine. And that would probably be a very valuable thing--we haven't pulled it off exactly yet.

According to a faculty member, a course designed specifically for pre-med students was in place by 2002.

Enrollments in the Urban Semester grew from about 20 students to about 32 students per semester between approximately 1992-1995. Since the elimination of the Ithaca-based part of the FISP in 1992, the Urban Semester Program remained relatively stable over the past decade.

The Urban Semester Curriculum

When the Urban Semester Program was created, the administration requested that the faculty member overseeing the Program divide the 15 credits into three separate courses. On its website, the Program was described as follows:

The Urban Semester Program is an undergraduate academic course of study made up of three courses with a focus on multicultural issues in urban affairs. Students learn new ways of knowing and participating in their increasingly diverse world. Students study and carry out research in professional settings through student-centered and experience-based learning. Three courses provide learning domains for professional, community, and personal development, responsibility, and leadership. Students use social science research methods with a focus on participant observation, interviews and literature-based research. All students use qualitative, quantitative, academic, and documentary evidence to support the research questions they set out to investigate on topics related to multicultural issues in urban affairs. They learn to develop plans of action to initiate change... (www.human.cornell.edu/urbansem/index.html).

The basic structure of the Urban Semester was similar to that of the former ID 408 New York City course. Students participated in their internships three days a week in a variety of fields such as medicine, healthcare, law, arts, communication, etc. Placements could be in the public, private or non-profit sectors. Students enrolled in the following courses, which were described on the website:

HE 408: Multicultural Practice (5 credits): Students reflect on their internship experiences in small group seminars with a focus on multicultural issues and professional practice.

HE 408: Multicultural Issues in Urban Affairs (5 credits): Students spend a half-day each week using “New York City as a classroom,” in which they learn about the social and cultural history of the city. They do so by immersing themselves in the neighborhoods and communities of the city and “engaging in dialogue with community, business, and government practitioners.”

HE 408: Communities in Multicultural Practice (5 credits): Students spend a full day each week learning about community building in the South Bronx. Students participate in seminars arranged with community leaders and participate as team members in community based programs such as after school programs. Through the course, “Students learn

through observations and dialogue, communicate across differences, and appreciate the advantages of mutual learning”
(www.human.cornell.edu/urbansem/coursedescription.htm).

While the subjects certainly were related, the content of the Urban Semester courses focused on multiculturalism while the ID 408 course focused more on urban affairs and action research. In addition, the ID 408 course addressed social change more explicitly through its action research project. A faculty member described how ID 408 was more structured in terms of readings and themes, whereas in the Urban Semester, the curriculum was more driven by the students’ experiences. A faculty member described how the seminar that accompanied the Urban Semester community service-learning experience was more “informal” and focused on students’ direct experiences. One administrator described the differences between ID 408 and HE 408: “Well, the research project went by the wayside. [The new instructor] has gone a slightly different direction. Instead of doing the research project, he does this community development/community-based service thing.”

Students were housed in the Cornell University Medical College dormitory, which could accommodate 32 Urban Semester students. The dorm was equipped with kitchens, workout facilities, and student lounge area. Tuition for the Program was less than regular tuition paid on campus. According to the website, “A tuition reduction is granted based on the tuition one is paying in Ithaca.” The student housing situation seemed more secure during this period than it did during earlier years when Program staff had to search for new facilities on more than one occasion.

Current faculty and administrators described the current state of the Program as stable and well-supported by departmental faculty. When asked about the current status of the Program, an administrator described how the Urban Semester operated fairly independently: “So, [the Director] does what he does really well. I think he’s doing a terrific job with the students and it doesn’t matter very much whether the faculty know what’s going on.” With regard to faculty she said, “They’re not opposed to having a program, they just don’t care whether they know anything about it or not.” A faculty member described how this marginalization was reflective of how experiential learning has spread in higher education in general and how faculty engage in the practice:

[The Urban Semester is] an opportunity that the students can avail themselves of--but it is not deeply embedded in the scholarly activities of

the academic major that the students are involved in. Frankly, I think that's been the difficulty we've had with experiential learning in general, in the colleges and the University, that when we put them over here, and then the students are doing things over here, there's this disconnect that sometimes happens, not from the students' point of view, but from the point of view of the faculty who are involved in these various programs that have neither respect or understanding of what the other piece of it is.

When discussing how institutionalized the Urban Semester was, another administrator assessed it in terms of the resources it received and provided:

No one minds the Urban Semester, and it actually doesn't cost us very much. We get enough tuition back, but we wouldn't save very much by cutting it. And I think it's a wonderful experience, but it's not intimately related to anything that's going on in the majors that the students have, so it's an appendage, you know?"

When administrators and faculty talked about the current Urban Semester program, they mentioned frequently that it was a revenue generator for the College. Overall, the Program seemed to be stable and there was no explicit criticism about the Urban Semester Program, which interestingly looked somewhat similar to early iterations of the FSO before the curriculum became more complex.

THE HUMAN AFFAIRS PROGRAM

We cannot, it seems to me, authorize the use of school money for any purpose which goes beyond the Charter of this University.... There are certainly substantial questions as to whether what [HAP is] doing is in conformity with the University charter (Cornell faculty member)⁹.

The Human Affairs Program (HAP) was a program started in 1969 by a group of faculty and students as an innovative, action-oriented, alternative educational program. The purpose of the Program was for students to learn while working collaboratively at the grassroots level with poor and working class people in nearby communities. The stated goals of HAP were:

- learning through active problem solving
- the development of widespread community control
- the constant examination of education and the role of the highly educated in the struggle for social justice (HAP, 1973, p. 4).

The Human Affairs Program was unique in its commitment to non-exploitive relationships with the community. A HAP staff member wrote the following in Program correspondence about the importance of advocacy:

Advocacy is critical not only for increasing student motivation and problem-solving skills, but also for access to the community. Community people will not welcome and cooperate with students without some reward. And certainly they will not be honest with students they do not know or trust and of whose motivations they are not informed. This includes not only disadvantaged people but even professionals in agencies who have often expressed to us their weariness of answering the same questions to student after student, year after year" (p. 3).

HAP's critics often claimed that the Program's activities were value-laden. The Human Affairs Program was explicit about its goals of advocacy and community organizing. According to a memo in the archives (9/3/74), an organizer who worked closely with Saul Alinsky and Cesar Chavez proposed to have Cornell students and faculty work with him in New York City on an organizing project.

⁹ Source: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Faculty Meeting Minutes, March 9, 1973.

An Alternative Pedagogy

Learning that involved advocacy created some challenges as HAP founders and staff believed that the “alternative” nature of the Program meant that students would be evaluated both on the basis of their field work and the academic work that accompanied the experience through the course. This philosophy was antithetical to the dominant tenet within the University that students should not receive credit for experience. A HAP staff member described students’ learning experiences in HAP as “activities which are unconventional in the ordinary academic context and which seem to be merely experience rather than an integral part of study....” (p. 3). Furthermore HAP called for alternative evaluation and supervision methods:

This type of educational activity calls for more flexible evaluation and supervision. The time students spend cannot be adequately reflected in traditional academic measurements. And the quality of the problem solving cannot be judged with classroom gauges. The student must be evaluated on how he operated in the given situation more than by how he wrote the paper at the end describing what he did.... The student must be supervised primarily by someone who is in the field and who is himself known and trusted by people in the community.” (p. 3).

These alternative approaches were at odds with traditional course structures and evaluation methods, and led to criticism from some faculty within the University.

At Cornell, credit was, with rare exception, granted by departments. According to a faculty member, one of the founders of the Program had to find a credit-granting “home” for HAP, since the school where he taught refused to grant HAP credit. This faculty member found a colleague in another school who was willing to allow credit to be granted through his school. The faculty member who agreed to sponsor HAP for credit-granting purposes said the following about supporting HAP:

I got very nervous about it because of some of the things--you know, auto mechanics and stuff like that...a little off center.... At a certain point...maybe a year or two, I said, ‘I think you need to find somebody else.’ It’s too high risk.

He added, however, that HAP was significant in signaling a change in the nature of education at Cornell, allowing for greater participation from both students and the community.

Courses

HAP courses covered topics such as: Community Communications, Self-Help Housing, Welfare, Criminal Justice, Health, and Community Organizing. As an example, the Welfare course had the following objectives:

To give students enrolled in the section a working knowledge of welfare recipients and their problems through an intensive fieldwork experience, and to provide the setting and stimulus for a thorough evaluation of the existing welfare system in the context of that fieldwork (HAP Welfare Course description, no date).

Students were to be trained in welfare counseling, so that they could serve as advocates for potential and current welfare recipients. Course readings covered the historical and philosophical underpinnings of the welfare structure, alternatives to the current welfare system, theories of casework and community organizing, and an overview of bureaucracies. Students were expected to work 20 hours per week at the Tompkins County Welfare Rights Organization on a variety of projects that the organization had selected. In addition, students had to write a substantive paper based on their experiences.

During HAP's first semester of operation in the spring of 1970, 85 students were involved in projects and Program enrollments grew rapidly thereafter. By spring of 1971, there were 125 students; this number grew to 175 by that fall. Faculty projected that the Program would grow to support 300-400 students participating in projects each semester (Whyte, 1971).

Course Section Leaders

HAP courses operated through section leaders who were responsible for selecting students, supervising their fieldwork, conducting seminars and grading student work. Section leaders did not have to have traditional academic credentials, just appropriate experience in the community. According to a HAP document, section leaders were directly responsible for the courses but the course content had to be approved beforehand:

[Section leaders'] expertise comes primarily from experience rather than from the earning of academic credentials.... None of the faculty involved with HAP have control over the content of the sections or grading. However, they have approved the sections as they are presently organized. This does not represent an abandonment of responsibility but trust in the ability of section leaders (HAP, 1973, p. 13).

In addition to the section leaders, each course had a faculty sponsor who served as an advisor. According to a March 7, 1973 memo, during the spring 1972 semester, all but seven of the section leaders were graduate students. The program was staffed by two graduate students and one undergraduate. Courses were evaluated for granting credit by the Field Study Committee, which was comprised by faculty. Students typically received six credits for HAP courses.

Faculty from Industrial and Labor Relations were concerned about the quality and legitimacy of section leaders. According to one ILR faculty member, "The difficulties that we have been running into with field people is that we have been using bus drivers as lecturers and nobody seems to care" (ILR Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1973, p. 4). Another faculty member added, "Professorial input and control over the granting of grades, the determination of prerequisites, of academic background was not adequately done in HAP. But we also found that the field contribution made by the section leaders was sometimes of extraordinary capacity." (p. 4). The issue of credentials and jurisdiction over teaching was debated openly in a 1973 document. The HAP staff were concerned that ILR faculty believed that an administrative secretary should not be a section leader, despite the fact that she had several years of experience working with a non-profit housing organization. A member of the Human Ecology Field Study Committee wrote the following about faculty status:

The refusal of the ILR committee to view section leaders as faculty although they are listed as lecturers in the Cornell Staff Directory is a puzzling oversight, yet it becomes the rationale for an examination of HAP activities which are seen as having a scope that 'goes beyond what would be considered appropriate in meeting most circumstances in this university' (1973, p. 3).

Resources

HAP was supported originally with foundation grants; however, it continued to rely on funding from individual colleges. According to a program description in a grant proposal (Whyte, 1971, p. 9), "In the spring of 1971, in the most difficult budget year the university has experienced in decades, the various colleges and the central administration together committed \$50,000 in support of the Human Affairs Program." The Program also

relied on faculty who volunteered their time or negotiated their responsibilities with their departments so that they could work with HAP.

College Involvement

A number of colleges cooperated with HAP, most notably the College of Human Ecology, since the CHE had just opened its Field Study Office in 1972 (Rawlings, et al. 2002). The College of Human Ecology had some linkages with HAP in different departments, for example in the social work program. HAP courses could be used to fulfill field study requirements that were set in individual departments. According to a member of the Human Ecology Field Study Committee, the CHE made a connection with HAP because HAP provided field experience at the grassroots level, which inherently was difficult to set up. HAP was seen as complementary to the newly developed Field Study Office in the College of Human Ecology because of the challenges in developing grassroots level field study opportunities.

Like ILR, faculty in the CHE were concerned about oversight of the courses. The Human Ecology Field Study Committee was charged with approving HAP courses for credit and monitoring their quality. The rationale was that if quality was assured upfront, the courses would require less time-consuming, ongoing evaluation by faculty members during the semester. At the same time, archival records from Field Study Committee meetings indicated that the FSO and HAP were engaged in ongoing discussions about the relationship between the two and concerns about over-saturating the community with students. Despite these linkages, several Field Study faculty reported that HAP was always viewed with suspicion by other faculty in the College of Human Ecology and they were careful not to associate themselves with HAP too closely. A Field Study faculty member recalled that the FSO was “always tarnished by HAP” because of its reputation as a radical and academically suspect program.

The College of Arts and Sciences and the School of Industrial and Labor Relations (ILR) were more reticent to allow their students to participate in HAP than Colleges such as Human Ecology, Agriculture, and Architecture and Planning. HAP’s relationship with ILR was somewhat contentious as some ILR faculty resisted allowing students to receive credit through HAP. In 1973, ILR formed an Ad Hoc Committee to review HAP and any potential relationships it might have with the Program. ILR faculty were concerned that

HAP co-mingled educational activities with political action (ILR Faculty Meeting Minutes, March 9, 1973).

The ILR Ad Hoc Committee was critical of HAP and voiced concerns about the content, process, and evaluation of HAP courses. The Human Affairs Program staff defended HAP and responded to these criticisms by saying that some faculty in ILR did not understand the basic nature of the Program. In addition they failed to understand the basic difference between field and classroom study and how the Program used grades, papers, and course readings. In particular, ILR was concerned that HAP grades reportedly were higher than those in other courses. In addition, they were concerned that "some of the HAP section leaders seemed contemptuous of grades" (HAP, 1973, p. 5). HAP staff made ideological distinctions between evaluation and grading. They acknowledged that students in HAP did most of their learning in the field setting but recognized that experience itself did not equal learning. The ILR Ad Hoc Committee was concerned equally that the course readings in HAP courses had a "left-wing, anti-establishment bias" (HAP, 1973, p. 8). The HAP staff responded by saying that the student's field experience was the primary source of data, not course readings; therefore, reading lists in HAP courses should not be compared with those in other courses.

Faculty from the College of Human Ecology were concerned about the criticisms from the ILR Ad Hoc Committee. The ILR Committee was reported as saying that "learning in a university is essentially an intellectual process; orderly, systematic and rational." The Human Ecology Field Study Committee agreed but were critical of ILR's implicit assumptions that field experience could not be the "basic reference" for this type of learning (Field Study Committee, March 19, 1973, p. 1). When ILR evaluated HAP, both HAP staff and the Field Study Committee were critical that they spent very little time evaluating the actual field experience as a learning component. Instead they focused on the readings and written products, applying standards that were more suitable to more traditional courses. They were critical about ILR's assessment that grading was "contemptuous" and according to a member of the Field Study Committee, "...although Cornell has norms for assessing grades, innovations can hardly be innovations if they are bound by all the traditional rules" (Field Study Committee, 3/19/73, p. 3). Critics countered that HAP section leaders were very careful and deliberate in their grading.

ILR's review of HAP was criticized extensively by HAP staff and supporters in method and content. During the review, HAP staff were concerned that ILR faculty wanted access to confidential records about community members participating in the Community "Storefront," which HAP students staffed. HAP staff were very clear about maintaining confidentiality and asserted that the records "...are not to be used for research of any kind--we do not study the people with whom we are working" (1973, p. 12). This statement exemplified one of the key differences between HAP and other programs that engaged students in research and represented a commitment to creating a non-exploitive relationship with the community.

After its review, ILR concluded that "unfortunately, there is little to suggest that the ILR faculty as a whole is prepared to encourage such linkages...." (March 7, 1973, p. 10) between fieldwork and coursework, citing faculty incentives as one barrier. Ultimately a number of ILR faculty recommended severing ties with HAP. ILR's stance on this type of learning was consistent with the School's stance on action research, which will be described later in the chapter.

Structural Arrangements

The Director of HAP reported directly to the Provost and was governed by the deans of Arts & Sciences, Agriculture and Life Sciences, Human Ecology and Industrial & Labor Relations. The academic and credit-bearing aspects of the Program were overseen by the Educational Policy Board. The Program was staffed by a non-faculty member.

The Demise of HAP

One of ILR's criticisms about HAP was that they attributed the Program's popularity with students to the students' ability to "escape from more rigorous and demanding courses" (HAP, 1973, p. 14). HAP staff defended the rigor of the Program's courses vigorously. They stated that many faculty were supportive of the Program, because of the real world experiences that students gained and the contributions that those students were able to make in classes:

Many faculty members have indicated to us that the most important contribution of HAP to the University is the grounding in the real world which it provides for an otherwise quite sheltered and naïve student body. They mention the lively participation of HAP students in classes following their field work experience as evidence (HAP, 1973, p. 10).

As early as 1971, the Program faced resistance from faculty because of certain challenges it faced, including: difficulties collaborating with the community; problems evaluating students' work; competition for students' time; and the legitimacy of the University's engagement with certain community organizations or agencies (Rawlings, et al., 2002). Faculty and administrators resisted the Program despite the following official rhetoric: "It is official university policy, as stated by President Dale Corson, that Cornell is to become increasingly active in community affairs in the region where we are located" (Whyte, 1971, p. 9). HAP was seen as one of the primary vehicles for creating connections between the University and the community during the early 1970s. Despite the fact that there was a policy that HAP students were not to promote partisan politics through their projects, some of the students' "implicit adversary position" (Rawlings, et al., 2002) was one of the factors that led to its demise in 1975.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE CENTER

...Our major institution for advancing this work is an under-funded minor office in Student Affairs, not in Academic Affairs, in which there's not one faculty member with any kind of appointment connected to it (Cornell faculty member).

I mean their funding situation is harsh...[however], until we can find ways to do serious, sustained academic work that involves undergraduates and graduates and faculty and staff members that will address specific issues, it will continue to be kicked to the curb (Cornell administrator).

The Public Service Network (PSN)

The Context for Collaboration

In 1986, a group of faculty, staff, and administrators from different parts of the University started to discuss, on an ad hoc basis, ways in which to coordinate and grow public or community service efforts on campus. Faculty described these efforts as grassroots since the meetings were faculty-driven and informal; the group came to be known formally as the Public Service Network (PSN) in 1988. One faculty member reflected that, "it was a group that was very careful about putting pressure on the University to do something, but not to be putting themselves as outsiders or outcasts. They wanted to make change within the system." An increased interest in public service on both a national and institutional level enabled the efforts of the PSN, whose work ultimately led to the development of the Faculty Fellows in Service Program and the Public Service Center.

Several events on the national front crystallized support from the President and Provost for exploring public service at Cornell. In 1985, a bill called the "Select Commission on National Service Opportunities Act of 1985" was introduced in the U.S. Senate. The purpose of the bill was to "establish a select commission to examine the issues associated with national service" (S.536, 1985, p. II). That same year, the Presidents of Stanford, Georgetown, and Brown Universities, along with the President of the Education Commission of the States, created the Campus Compact¹⁰. Campus Compact is "...a coalition of college and university presidents whose primary purpose is to help students

¹⁰ Currently, Campus Compact is a national coalition of close to 880 college and university presidents committed to the civic purposes of higher education (www.compact.org).

develop the values and skills of citizenship through participation in public and community service” (www.compact.org). Both the introduction of the Senate bill and the founding of Campus Compact reflected a national interest in engaging citizens, particularly students, in their communities in what was characterized as an increasingly disengaged society. Campus Compact saw its particular responsibility as encouraging higher education institutions to foster civic responsibility in students.

An administrator stated that Campus Compact was a driving force behind the increased attention on public service at Cornell during this time. She said, “[President] Rhodes [got] embarrassed that he can’t even say what we’re doing [on campus in terms of public service].” Several faculty members were cynical when asked about Cornell’s commitment to Campus Compact. One faculty member stated:

Cornell was certainly not one of the leading, initiating participants in Campus Compact.... As you know Campus Compact started in ‘85 and there’s a lot of apocryphal storytelling around how reluctant Cornell was and Frank Rhodes were to be part of the Compact. There’s a story that [the President of Stanford] called and told him to be there, because at one point Frank was going to send the Provost or VP [instead of attending Campus Compact meetings himself], and I think later on did.

One of Campus Compact’s first efforts was to create the Project for Public and Community Service. Part of these initial efforts involved surveying institutions of higher education to inventory public service activities. The President at the time asked the Provost and a faculty member engaged heavily in public service efforts to complete a survey of service activities on campus for Campus Compact. This faculty member described how he bargained with the Provost to provide some visible administrative support for public service in exchange for completing the inventory survey:

[I said to the Provost,] ‘What I would like for you to do is call a meeting under your aegis as part of our participation in Campus Compact of all the people on campus who do service, to come together and talk about what they do, and out of that meeting we’ll pull the data.’ And so out of that came the rudiments of the Public Service Network.

Purpose of the PSN

The PSN created a forum in which to explore the possibilities for centralizing or coordinating public service efforts on campus. Faculty described how there was very little communication about public service efforts on campus, which was due largely to the

decentralized nature of the University. One faculty member offered the following as an example:

Just to show you how isolated I think [our college] in general was--I got a call one day from one of the senior faculty who had been writing about Participatory Action Research and when the [Participatory Action] Network discovered that we had been doing it in [our program], he was astounded, as if he had discovered a foreign country. He said, 'I can't believe this,' and he came over and interviewed me and he looked at our materials. And here he was trying to compile stuff from around the country and he was astounded to find out that it had been going on in the upper end of campus for years, at least since 1980.

In response to national efforts to focus on public service, the Vice Provost sent a memo to the Provost and select members of the PSN dated May 20, 1986, stating: "To make the opportunities for community service better known among our students, we thought it might be useful to consider a more centralized method of treating these opportunities and the organizations that sponsor them." He requested that interested parties meet to see where centralization might be appropriate. He offered for discussion, "the proposal that the Dean of Students' office take on a clearinghouse function with respect to these activities and ask you to think about the benefits and liabilities of such an arrangement."

Over the next year or two the Network met sporadically to consider issues such as the scope and structure of a potential center to coordinate community service activities on campus. As described above, the original discussions focused on the center serving primarily as a clearinghouse to provide information to campus members and eliminate some duplication of public service efforts in the community. This duplication of efforts was seen as having a negative impact on the community and often fueled the tenuous town/gown relationships between Cornell and Ithaca. The PSN and administrators debated the scope and structure of the proposed center throughout the proposal stage as a small group of faculty and administrators in the PSN saw an opportunity to advance a service-learning agenda through the Center. These service-learning advocates wanted to formalize a way to integrate community service more closely with the academic core of the institution. Faculty reported that, for the most part, the administration resisted these efforts as will be discussed in later sections.

The PSN drafted a proposal in April 1987 to coordinate community service on campus. The stated purpose of the proposed center was “To improve, develop and coordinate programs that promote education through student involvement in community and volunteer programs” (Confidential Memo, April 28, 1987, p. 1). The proposal sought to coordinate, recognize publicly, and secure funding for voluntarism, community service and internships, which at that time included: field study, course projects, internships (both within departments and through the Career Center), and volunteer activities on campus, in Ithaca, nationally and internationally. The initial proposal called for a budget of \$27,500 to fund a part-time coordinator, graduate student assistant, travel, communications, and publications.

Initial Challenges

The PSN recommended that the Center have a steering committee of faculty, staff, students, and alumni to advise the coordinator. The absence of community members on the steering committee became an issue of debate in subsequent discussions about the proposal. According to one faculty member, when asked about involving the community in the process, an administrator said:

‘No, we have to get our own house in order before we bring the community in.’ So, the community was not at the table. I don’t know when the community came to the table. It still was not at the table... in ‘92, and as I understand, that’s been problematic.

As will be described in greater detail later, the PSN was slow to involve students in the planning process as well, which raised similar debates about when and how to involve students in the planning process. Subsequently, the students created their own group to form a collective voice about their goals for a PSC.

This initial proposal written in 1987 prompted a debate about the language that would be used to determine the scope of the Center. One faculty member described how he and some of his colleagues debated with other PSN members about the potential name of the Center:

I wanted it to be called the Center for Service-Learning. And I was outvoted on that...so then some of my colleagues backed down because they said, ‘well it’s really more than that.’ I said, ‘well, it will never be more than public service if we don’t put service-learning in the term.’

In a PSN meeting on August 21, 1987, this faculty member made the following meeting notes in response to the third draft of the proposal: "Common language = service-learning...has service-learning focus...shouldn't this be more explicit [in the proposal]?" This comment was in response to the section in the proposal that stated, "Programs developed for this purpose should have well defined educational goals that complement the more traditional, formal academic programs and integrate with them." The term "service-learning" was not used in the document despite the mention of integrating service with formal academic programs. The issue of language would resurface during the planning stages of the Public Service Center.

In late 1987, the PSN experienced a rift as one of its members refused to endorse the proposal. This lack of endorsement essentially excluded Cornell Ithaca Volunteers in Training and Service (CIVITAS)¹¹ from the proposed coordination, which was significant since CIVITAS was considered to be the backbone of the proposed Center. In a confidential August 1987 memo, one of the PSN members described reasons for not supporting the proposal as "the lack of overall clarity and definition, the implicit suggestion that voluntarism at Cornell needs shaping up, and the budget." This member also resisted changing or merging any of the existing community service programs in what was described by one faculty member as "turf issues." According to a faculty member, two members of the PSN "squared off" as a result of these issues and a proposal for funding the Center never was submitted, leaving the PSN efforts in limbo. The turf war hinged on the extent to which members of the PSN wanted to centralize community-service activities. This faculty member also reported that throughout the process an administrator "...kept saying we can't centralize. We can't talk about centers at Cornell." He described the decentralized nature of Cornell and the dynamics that resulted from this structure:

I think the typical metaphor that people used about colleges at Cornell was that it was a series of colleges, each with a moat around it, and a drawbridge controlled from inside.But the worry was--and this is important because it's a turf issue--if you have a Public Service Center, what autonomy is lost?... It's one thing when there's a network there and you're talking about kind of working together and pooling--when you start to talk about a center, there were conversations about how would this

¹¹ Founded in 1965, CIVITAS was the first clearinghouse at Cornell for volunteer service opportunities in the community. Because of its long-term relationship with community organizations, it was considered an important part of the proposed PSC.

affect [other programs]? Would our community projects have to go through the Center? And [the Vice President] was cautioning against, you know, this is Cornell--we don't centralize anything. And I remember this meeting with [him] where the language we couldn't use....we couldn't use the word 'clearinghouse,' we couldn't use the word 'coordination,' I mean there were all of these kind of 'C' words that spoke of centrality that [he said] will never fly. At that point the group thought that there must be a way to have a PSC that allowed autonomy within pieces.

Faculty Fellows in Service Program

Origins of the Program

When the PSN reconvened in 1989, several faculty worked on a proposal related specifically to funding faculty to develop service-learning courses or projects. In 1990 the Faculty Fellows in Service (FFIS) Program was initiated as a three-year pilot program to achieve the following goals:

1. to strengthen Cornell's commitment to community service, and to broaden the university's involvement at the local, state, national and international levels;
2. to focus primarily on undergraduate students, and to involve a much larger number of these students in community service activities;
3. to identify community service as an integral part of liberal arts and professional education; and
4. to encourage larger numbers of the university's faculty to work with undergraduate students in community service activities (Cornell University FFIS Summary, 1994, p. 1).

The name "Faculty Fellows in Service" was coined by an administrator who noted the success of the Faculty Fellows in Residence and Faculty Research Fellows Programs. He decided that the model could be applied to public service as well. One of the founders emphasized that "this is a faculty program, faculty run [by] faculty decisions, [and a] faculty- involved program." A unique and planned characteristic of the program was to keep it distanced slightly from the administration and make the RFP and funding process easy for faculty.

The FFIS Program was funded by the President's Fund for Educational Initiatives¹² for the first four years and continued to be supported through the Vice President for Student

¹² The purpose of this fund was to enrich undergraduate education through educational innovations. Funding came from anonymous donors.

Affair's Office. The initial funding was \$120,000 for three years; however, the founders had a surplus at the end of the third year that allowed them to continue for another year before converting to an institutional funding source. Operating expenses were kept at a minimum since faculty coordinators were not paid. Funding was used to provide grants to faculty to cover expenses related to teaching a service-learning course, such as travel, supplies, and other administrative items related to service-learning projects. The purpose of the FFIS Program was to provide funding that typically was not available through departments. The founders of the Program saw expenses related to teaching a service-learning course as a deterrent to faculty participation and sought to remove that barrier. The average grant awarded was \$1200 per faculty member and awards were made three times a year.

The focus on service-learning became more explicit over time. The 2001 Program goals were to:

- Increase the number of students involved in public service actions
- Encourage faculty members to work with students in public-service activities
- Integrate community service with the academic mission of the university.
- Strengthen Cornell's overall commitment to civic engagement by broadening the university's involvement in public-service activities at the local, state, national, and international levels.

Mentioning the academic mission in the third point indicated an attempt to move service-learning closer to the academic core of the institution.

Program Overview

The initial grants awarded in Fall 1990 provided funding for the following projects:

- Harlem and South Bronx Literacy Program
- Oral Histories from West Dryden, NY
- Design Guide for Five Village Parks in Cooperstown, NY
- Water Pump and Solar Energy Program with Low-Income Indian Communities, Ciudad Guzman, Mexico
- Theatre Outreach in Public Schools, Ithaca, NY
- Playground for Southside Community Center, Ithaca, NY
- Cooperative Cornell-Ithaca Sciencenter-GIAC Composting Education Program, Ithaca, NY (Cornell University FFIS Summary, 1994, p. 1).

Faculty were awarded 80 grants during the first three years from 29 departments all over the University, including: Anthropology, Architecture, Art, Biological Sciences, City and Regional Planning, Civil and Environmental Engineering, Economics, English, Hotel Administration, Landscape Architecture, Latin American Studies, Music, Plant Biology, Rural Sociology, and Theatre Arts. The largest concentration of awards in the first four years of the Program went to Landscape Architecture, which received 13 awards. Faculty from some departments and colleges were represented less than others. For example, one faculty member said that it was difficult to engage many faculty in Engineering to participate in the Program.

The FFIS Program was significant because it was the first time Cornell had established a formal structure, albeit small, to support service-learning. The founders were careful to distinguish service-learning from co-curricular public service. The FFIS's founding coincided with the time period of 1989-1990 when the term "service-learning" became more common in higher education and served to differentiate academic-based service from volunteer community service. There were certain criteria for the awards that helped distinguish these projects as service-learning. Specifically,

...the students and faculty help in circumstances where they are asked to participate, and where the client group would otherwise have no resources available for needed assistance. All work is done under the close supervision of a faculty member in a service-learning situation.... The focus is on those faculty members who otherwise would devote their time only to teaching and research (Cornell University FFIS Summary, 1994, p. 2).

A faculty member added that as a requirement, "...the community had to sign off on a project. Either request it or sign off. [Faculty] couldn't use it for research, couldn't use the money to pay graduate students." The funds were to be used specifically to pay for expenses related to service-learning projects in courses. This faculty member reflected on the importance of language and definitions when the FFIS Program was implemented. He stated that some faculty members had difficulty understanding and interpreting the reciprocal nature of community-based service-learning. He said:

I found all through the years that a lot of faculty members think they're doing community service, and they're really doing research *on* a community. And, I don't mean any evil intentions are involved in this. I think the motivations and the culture is different, and I've always tried to

draw a line between that and what I did, and to try and have others draw a line because this is, in a way, it has the potential of being exploitive. You go to a community, you extract from them information, time and energy of the community, and you give very little back. And that kind of a gain is to the person doing the research for his or her own purposes, and doing research and getting it published in academic journals and getting rewards, academic rewards...that's exploitive. I mean, it contributes to the base of knowledge of the field but it's not what I identify as community service.

The overarching philosophy of reciprocity between the University and the community guided the criteria proposal reviewers used to fund FFIS projects. Proposal reviewers turned down some proposals because faculty had failed to get buy-in from the community for their projects and were seen more as doing service *on* rather than service *with* the community.

One of the primary ways the FFIS Program was publicized was through an annual Symposium, in which faculty presented papers about service-learning based on the experiences they had teaching service-learning courses. The first Symposium was held in 1997. The purpose of the Symposium was to disseminate information about service-learning and various models to faculty in an effort to encourage greater faculty participation at Cornell. The presented papers, which were selected through a competitive process, were compiled in a "Working Paper Series on Service-Learning" and disseminated to faculty. A few faculty felt the Symposium had minimal effect on recruiting additional faculty to the Program since Symposium presenters were basically "preaching to the choir." Reportedly very few faculty who were not engaged in service-learning attended the Symposia. In addition, it appeared that a majority of the faculty who participated in FFIS came from the statutory colleges. An examination of the recent Working Papers Series on Service-Learning also showed an absence of Arts College faculty participation. For example, in both the 1999 and 2000 Working Papers Series volumes, there were no Arts College faculty members who contributed papers.¹³

The founders of FFIS saw faculty participation as a challenge since there were few, if any, rewards to teaching a service-learning course in a research university where a majority of faculty are hired under the tenure system. One faculty member remarked, "...if you spend your time doing community service, you are doing yourself a disservice within

¹³ Since the papers in this Series were selected competitively, it is possible that an Arts College faculty member submitted a paper, which was not selected for publication.

that system to yourself. You're doing the community a service but you're doing yourself a disservice. That's fairly well known."

Another ongoing challenge for the Program was getting departments to sustain projects and courses with their own funding. The original idea behind the FFIS was that the Program would provide seed money and that the courses would eventually be integrated into the departments. One faculty member said that the Landscape Architecture department, in particular, relied heavily on FFIS for funding but had not made significant progress in institutionalizing the courses within the department.

One faculty member worried that most of the efforts to engage in service-learning and encourage its growth on campus were being spearheaded by the same small group of people:

I worry--I wouldn't say this is true just of [this faculty member], but people like [him]--but I worry that what happens is we use them up, they get overexposed.... After a while, throughout the small community--'oh, that same person is here again doing another presentation on the topic that I've heard before,' and so they get discounted, they become almost comic relief after a while.

He added that in order for FFIS to grow and gain legitimacy institution-wide, more senior faculty needed to be recruited:

And the other part of it is, if you took a look at who are the Cornell FFIS, how many heavy hitters are you going to see? How many full professors are in the group? I don't know the answer, but my suspicion is that you're going to see a number of lecturers and some relatively new assistant professors, and people who don't have that kind of institutional clout.

In general, informants viewed FFIS as a successful program with a stable future. At the time of this study there were over 100 faculty members in the FFIS network. One faculty member noted that the term FFIS was now used in programs all over the country. Another faculty member remarked that the FFIS program was one of the only initiatives funded by the President's Fund for Educational Initiatives that was sustained over time as an innovation to enrich undergraduate education. The Program continued to be administrated by the Vice Provost for Student Affairs Office within the Public Service Center and received a \$30,000 annual budget. Despite some of its limitations, faculty and

administrators agreed that the FFIS Program was the Public Service Center's primary vehicle for engaging faculty in service-learning.

The Public Service Center

Origins

During 1989, one of the PSN members involved in the turf wars described earlier left the University. This personnel change allowed the PSN to move forward without the internal conflict that had characterized its earlier existence. The PSN returned to developing proposals for funding a campus-wide Public Service Center. The rationale the PSN presented to the administration for such a center was that there was no place for students, faculty or community members to go to find out clear or comprehensive information about ongoing community service projects, programs or activities. Furthermore, those efforts were largely uncoordinated. The PSN saw the PSC as a way to help Cornell publicize its community service activities and fulfill its land grant mission (Confidential Memo, July 24, 1990).

An undergraduate student became a key force behind the President's final commitment to create a Public Service Center (PSC) after many years of planning by the PSN (PSC, 2001). According to one faculty member, this student was very outspoken on campus and engaged heavily in public service efforts. The faculty member described how the student convinced President Rhodes, in a public forum, to commit to a Public Service Center:

And she was a campus radical organizer. And this is one of those wonderful events, and I don't know how many people connected this, but [President] Rhodes decided somewhere...against the backdrop of what later became very, very acrimonious town/gown issues [to sponsor] this conference...but Cornell was having this kind of press conference, this event around service--not service-learning--and Rhodes gives this eloquent speech about service. And [the student] raises her hand. And this is what she said: 'President Rhodes, I want to know when we're going to have a Public Service Center on the Cornell campus. We had more public service in my high school than all of Cornell.' Of course, I'm back with the PR guys, they're just--'oh no, I don't believe he let her ask that question!' But the answer [the President gave was] 'right now.'

This student reflected that the PSC was "...a lesson in the power of asking. Without students asking for a Cornell Public Service Center, it is possible that Cornell would still be without one" (PSC, 2001, p. 12).

Although a couple of faculty pointed to this particular student as really pushing President Rhodes to commit to the PSC, students struggled to be included in the actual planning stages of the PSC once it was approved. The PSN members and some administrators disagreed about if and when to involve students in the development phase. A faculty member who pushed for student involvement said that he and others who supported student involvement had to tread lightly given the fragile nature of the PSN due to the recent internal turf wars. Eventually the PSN relented and included student representatives on the PSN. This faculty member described the debate around student involvement:

Well, in retrospect, there were some of us who believed that [the students] should have been there. [Others believed that] this is an administrative issue and it's student as consumer not as participant.... I said this to [one of the students]-- faculty talk about communities as partners, and we don't even let the students to the table. There was an idea, and [the Director] voiced this, and I think people deferred to her because they knew that when she spoke, or they assumed that when she spoke, she was speaking for [the Vice Provost]. And that meant that she was speaking for the University and that she was part of the pipeline to the Anonymous Donor that jeopardized funding. And it was conceived of as a student service enterprise, not as a collaboration. So anyway, out of that came the students' willingness to wait and see if [the students] and I could work something out. So we did end up with student representatives on the PSN--probably not as many as they wanted.

Resistance to student involvement from the administration related to the politics of funding and a more desirable passive role for students.

In order to have their voices heard, five undergraduate students organized a group called "Students for a Public Service Center;" and in 1990 they prepared a proposal to supplement the PSN's proposal. The students emphasized student and community involvement in the planning and implementation phases of the PSC. They requested full-time staffing for the Center, and included students as staff members. The students also requested a special fund to provide seed money for students to initiate service projects in the community. The group referenced how Cornell was behind its peer institutions with

regard to commitment to public service efforts when they wrote, "Should this proposal be embraced, Cornell could provide its students and faculty with the same opportunities as those of our peers at educational institutions such as Brown University, Stanford University, and the University of Pennsylvania" (Student Proposal for a PSC at Cornell, 1990, p. 1).

An administrator also compared Cornell's public service efforts with those of its peer institutions: "In spite of our outstanding programs, there are areas within our overall structure that can be modified to significantly enhance our efforts and eliminate the sense that we are not doing as much as Brown, Stanford, etc." (Confidential Memo to the President, October 1990, p. 1). This administrator focused on the *redistribution* of resources rather than additional resources: "The following are areas which I believe we can address by redistributing our present funds and resources: Visibility and publicity for our efforts; Staff and financial support for student initiatives; Coordination and organization of services" (Confidential Memo to the President, October 1990, p. 1). He saw the major components of the Center model as creating a centralized location, developing partnerships, and fostering student leadership. The proposed initial partners of the PSC were: CIVITAS, Cornell Tradition, the Cornell Committee on Education and The Community, the Advising and Counseling Staff of the Dean of Students Office, and the Assistant Dean of Fraternities and Sororities.

In November 1990, President Rhodes agreed to establish a PSC by providing partial funding from the President's Fund for Educational Initiatives. This funding was provided for three years to pay for support staff, computers, and seed money for student-assisted projects (Onozawa, 1991). The rest of the funding came from a grant proposal written to the Corporation for National Service (CNS) to support service-learning on campus. One faculty member reported that the initial funders were willing to provide resources for the startup because there were potential sources for future funding: "And the word was that there were donors out there who would be willing to bankroll this along the lines of the Haas Center [for Public Service at Stanford]." The proposal writers wrote the following:

Cornell University proposes to create a Service Learning Consortium consisting of: 1) the Faculty-Fellows-in-Service Program, 2) the South Bronx Literacy Program, 3) the Homeless Program, 4) the Teacher Training Program, 5) the 4-H Connection Program, 6) the [Cornell

Literacy And Service] Program , and 7) the Public Service Center. Each member of the consortium will individually direct his/her respective Programs and together create an advising and consulting committee to each other to collaborate and offer replicable service education experiences for Cornell students. (Proposal for a Higher Education Innovative Project, 1992, p. 1).

The CNS proposal, which was funded in 1992, emphasized maintaining separate programs but facilitating ways to collaborate and centralize information. According to the proposal, these programs were recognized nationally as public service and service learning models and bringing them together would..."provide unification of service learning experiences throughout the university and facilitate the revitalization of the university's historical ethic of civic responsibilities" (pp.1-2).

The Role of the PSN in the PSC

As the PSC was created, the PSN and a couple of administrators involved in its founding debated what, if any, continued role the PSN would have in the Center. In 1991, the PSN members proposed that they become an official advisory board for the PSC (Major Changes to Current Structures, May 2, 1991). This discussion came up in the context of determining who should advocate for public service within the University. In the PSC Mission Statement Draft III dated November 15, 1991, the following was written about this issue:

There was discussion about what body is best suited for the role of advocate in general for public service projects throughout the university. A need was felt to clarify the center's relationship to the Public Service Network, and the related roles. Generally, it was felt that having an independent voice via the Network was a good idea, and perhaps advocacy was best done by it (p. 2).

A faculty member described how some members of the PSN wanted to remain an independent voice because of their concerns about certain developments in the PSC:

...There was a presumption on the part of the administration that the PSN would become the advisory board for the Center....The radicals on it...didn't like what had happened and we felt that rather than be a rubber stamp board for the administration that there needed to be a voice for the things that were problematic--community inclusion, faculty involvement, faculty--we wanted a faculty director...but over time those decisions were made more and more in administration and we became more of a critic group rather than the group that, you know, gave it birth.... So the PSN

wanted to stay independent to be an independent voice and to represent the public service providers and advocates on campus and to keep the PSC honest. Part of it was that there was a great distrust of [the Director]. There was a sense that the Center had missed the boat and brought the students in too late. When I looked in '92, the community wasn't there. I mean there might have been some sign offs on the grant, but you can get those any time. And that we weren't sure that service-learning had the central place that we wanted it to beyond the Faculty Fellows.

Potential Center Models

As mentioned earlier, administrators were concerned somewhat about Cornell's perceived commitment to public service compared with its peer institutions, which faculty defined as the Ivy League institutions and highly selective research universities such as Stanford and University of Michigan. When asked if they reviewed any public service center models from other institutions, faculty replied that they looked at Stanford, University of Michigan, Michigan State, UCLA, University of Pennsylvania, and University of Vermont. One faculty member reflected, "I don't think there was a systematic look. I mean there was nothing to look at Princeton, there was nothing to look at Columbia. Penn may have been starting [to develop its center] but had [the Vice Provost] looked closely and seen Ira [Harkavy], that wouldn't have been his model--of radical organizing and Participatory Action Research¹⁴." Another faculty member offered this perspective on mimicking peer institutions, which reflected the divisions between the endowed and statutory sides of the institution: "We only looked at elite institutions but...there was a tendency to think that a state university by the nature of it being state funded was going to [be an appropriate model]...whereas we don't think of ourselves as a state university."

Mission, Focus, and Language

As mentioned earlier, one of the areas of disagreement among those involved in the PSC's creation was the extent to which the Center would focus explicitly on service-learning. Over time, service-learning became a more explicit part of the mission. Draft V of the original Mission Statement (1/15/92) stated:

The Cornell Public Service Center will:

¹⁴ The presumption here was that the administration preferred a more conservative model of organizing public service efforts and that activities like activism were seen as too controversial.

- Facilitate opportunities for students to gain experience and deepen their awareness through the process of community service
- Affirm the synergy of classroom and experiential education
- Foster a lifetime commitment to informed action which will benefit the community in its broadest definition
- Examine the range of public service options, their goals, practices, implications, and results.

The second point about the synergy between classroom and experiential education is a reference to academic-based service. References to service-learning in the stated goals were vague, such as “Develop orientation, on-going support, and reflection as part of all public service activities” and “Foster faculty and staff participation” (Draft V Mission Statement, 1992).

The issue of what terminology to use in the mission arose primarily in the context of reaching out to potential constituents. Those involved in the PSC’s development were aware that faculty might have had negative pre-conceived notions about PSC activities based on associations they might have made about other experiential-based programs at Cornell. In a December 1991 e-mail, a PSC staff member wrote the following about language used in the drafts of the mission statement:

I am concerned about the use of the word ‘experiential’ in [the] mission statement as I believe it may be a red flag for faculty in Arts and Sciences and we really need to strive to bring that group in in order to gain legitimacy and acceptance by the wider faculty, trustees and administrators.

When asked to analyze why this staff member had these concerns, one faculty member said:

Well, I think that part of the view...is to make sure that it doesn’t feel like Field Study [in Human Ecology] and experiential learning to the Arts and Sciences faculty...even though they had some people in Arts and Sciences. [Using this language was] bad because in the ‘70s, there was this group at Cornell--late ‘60s, called the [Human Affairs Program]. And it did all kinds of radical protest kinds of things, advocacy issues, and people still remembered that in 1980s and ‘90s. And that was one thing that [the Provost] said--‘you have to make sure [that the PSC] doesn’t have any remote relationship in people’s association to this [Human Affairs Program]’...It was pretty radical in terms of community organization. [So, this staff member] probably was reflecting the view that people weren’t really using the term

service-learning but they had heard the term experiential learning. Yeah, that was a bad word...in A&S.

PSC members also debated whether or not terms such as 'social change' reflected the mission of the PSC. PSN members made the following comments during a discussion of the mission and goals for the PSC:

- Also missing is the language of social justice and social change.
- We've also talked about having a continuum of goals from volunteerism to social advocacy.
- We're trying to bring public service into the mainstream. To use the word 'alternative' in this context is not good.
- We need to revisit 'advocacy' and the PSC (PSN Meeting Minutes, November 18, 1991, p. 2).

According to faculty, the administration felt that the Center should be more conservative in terms of language in order to cast a broader net and move into the mainstream. Some PSN members and administrators saw words such as "advocacy," "alternative," and "social change" as too controversial. One faculty member remarked that advocacy was "...one of those things that was verboten" at Cornell.

Several years later, the PSC Mission referenced service-learning explicitly and claimed that the service-learning philosophy was an organizing principle for the Center:

The mission of the Public Service Center is to champion the conviction that the Cornell University experience confirms service as essential to active citizenship. To fulfill this commitment, the Public Service Center espouses service-learning as its overarching educational philosophy to develop and organize its programs. Service learning is an educational approach that enhances and reinforces academic learning with practical experiences while strengthening civic values and moral character and responding to community needs. Service-learning fosters service to others, community development and empowerment, and reciprocal learning among participants' social and educational institutions (PSC Operations Report, 1997-99).

Over the past two years the language changed further to include the term "social action." According to the PSC Director, "We promote faculty and student engagement in action research and social action" (PSC, 2001, p. 1). This shift in language accounted for the Director's interest in collaborating with the Participatory Action Research Network.

Although stated as its central philosophy, faculty and administrators said that service-learning had become a driving force in the PSC only over the past few years. Some

faculty claimed that the PSC was still based primarily on a student volunteerism model since service-learning had failed to diffuse significantly beyond the FFIS. Most agreed, however, that the FFIS program had been a positive force in engaging an increased number of faculty in service-learning. One administrator commented that:

It has developed in its 10 years, really coming out more of the student development model. Now it's trying to move into the academic realm and [we are figuring out] how to marry them.... So if you look at its early stages...it did have some academic linkage but it was really designed to serve as...both a coordinating group for the various service initiatives and as a catalyst.... Probably as the Center itself matured--year 5, year 6, year 7--they really adopted the service-learning philosophy as their core philosophy...[but] as a Center they run the full spectrum [of activities].

The minority viewpoint about the importance of service-learning in the founding years was acknowledged publicly in the 10 Year Anniversary Report of the PSC: "The completion of this ten-year milestone is a perfect time to thank our founders and...faculty supporters of the PSC committed to service-learning ahead of their time..." (PSC, 2001, p. 7). When asked about this comment, one of the PSN members replied that the group was actually behind other institutions in terms of embracing service-learning.

It seemed that faculty and administrators engaged in these efforts thought quite a bit about the distinctions between service-learning and public service; however, as one faculty member stated, "I don't think the average faculty member and the average student make much of a distinction between the two. But those who do make a distinction are likely to value both equally." While this perspective remained true for the average faculty member or student at Cornell, the administration recognized the importance in differentiating the two. Many understood increasingly that public service and service-learning differed philosophically and that service-learning required faculty commitment and a greater commitment of resources.

Proposed Structure for the PSC

An important topic of discussion during the PSC's creation was around the proposed structure for the PSC. One faculty member criticized the conservative and tentative language around the structure and scope of the Center. He referenced a document called "Global Features of this Arrangement," which included the following on its list of PSC features:

- Maintains and fosters existing community and student relationships
- Avoids competition between existing units (1991, p. 3).

Although coordinating activities was a central objective of the PSC, the administration wanted the separate units to maintain some autonomy to avoid competition. The notion that existing relationships should be maintained rather than new ones developed, indicated the conservative vision that the administration had for the PSC. One faculty member said the following when reviewing the proposed structure: “See, this was the attempt to respect the decentralization at Cornell, so the idea is that there would be working relationships with these people, but it’s outside the Center but affiliated--that’s the key word--that none of these things was going to be pulled into the Center.”

There were debates between the PSN and the administration about the extent to which the PSC should be formalized. Some members felt that the PSC should be more than a clearinghouse run part-time by a recent college graduate. According to PSN meeting minutes of February 20, 1991, certain members raised questions about the potential legitimacy and success of the Center and requested that the PSC Coordinator position be upgraded from an entry-level position and salary so that they could hire a more experienced staff member. An administrator reallocated funding from student-initiated projects to increase the budget to hire a coordinator. Subsequently, the coordinator was expected to devote time to fundraising for the student-initiated projects to make up the shortfall.

In 1991, the University decided that Academic Affairs and Student Affairs would become the responsibility of one administrator. The PSC was the first pilot of a program that would report to that Vice Provost under the dual sides of Student and Academic Affairs. The Center’s relationship with Academic Affairs made at least one of the potential partners in the PSC uneasy because of the potential loss of autonomy mentioned earlier. Some of the volunteer programs did not want to be co-opted by the academic side. A few years later the administrative structure changed again and the PSC was placed under the Vice President for Student Affairs, where it continued to reside.

There was also a dilemma about whether to place FFIS in Student Affairs or Academic Affairs and whether the FFIS should have a formal relationship with the PSC. One faculty member described the issues around locating FFIS within the Cornell structure:

And so this [came up] the third or fourth year when we got the Symposium. There's been an effort to bring the Faculty Fellows in Service into the PSC to actually integrate the two. I had some questions about doing that because we wanted to keep this a faculty program.... I think the PSC was set up and still now suffers considerably because it has very little faculty input and...I think that the University made a conscious decision, that was a mistaken decision, to establish the PSC and put as a Director a non-faculty member. That's now in hindsight. We told them that from the beginning. We said, 'that's a very serious mistake'...So, what I think they had in mind was taking the Faculty Fellows in Service and integrating it and that would give it faculty status...stature. But it doesn't work that way.... I think you need to have a faculty member as the Director of it, or Co-director or some recognized official position so that that person can go around and just do the things that a Director does.

This faculty member concluded that the FFIS program alone was not enough leverage to bring the PSC closer to the academic core. As will be discussed later, the PSC had yet to fulfill its goal of hiring a faculty director.

Legislative Influence on Public Service at Cornell

Various pieces of legislation were crucial to enhancing both legitimacy and financial resources for public service activities and the broader infrastructure of the Public Service Center. The legislation was also important to developing the service-learning agenda and differentiating service-learning from volunteer service. This differentiation occurred, in part, as RFPs came out to fund service-learning. In 1988, the Cornell Literacy and Service Project (CLASP) was funded specifically as a service-learning course by the Fund for the Improvement of Secondary Education (FIPSE). A faculty member described how the CLASP project was differentiated as service-learning because of its connection with the Student Literacy Corps (SLC):

When [the Principal Investigator] wrote that grant, it was explicitly a service-learning grant, because the national literacy corps legislation required it. And Senator Kennedy put this in the legislation, so to that extent, it was under President Bush, George Bush the first, administration, so you know, there was this FIPSE thing, and then there was the national literacy corps that required in order to get a SLC grant, all of your tutoring programs and literacy programs on campus had to be tied to a credit-bearing course....that legislation required [service-learning].... nationally that was the pressure.

The 1990 National Community Service Act established the Commission for National and Community Service (CNCS), an independent federal agency that sought to encourage Americans of all ages to volunteer on local and national levels¹⁵. When the PSN submitted the proposal for the PSC to the CNCS as a Higher Education Innovative Project in 1992, they did so with some risk since they were competing directly with the State of New York for the same funds and were alienating themselves potentially if they were not funded as an individual institution. In 1992, New York State submitted a comprehensive state plan for funding for \$1 million of the \$5.6 million available for higher education in the state. A faculty member described these political dynamics:

We wrote a grant proposal to the Commission. And we had been told that in those days there was so little money, and there were two choices--you could be part of your state plan and throw your lot in with the state system, which for us meant SUNY, or you could take a chance on this very small pot of money that could go directly to certain universities. But the word we got from New York State was that if you don't come with us and you go for your own and you don't get it, you're out--you can't come back to us. So we decided to take the chance....

Fortunately for Cornell, the CNCS funded the PSN proposal. This funding, along with some institutional monies, enabled Cornell to establish the Public Service Center.

Support from the Administration

Faculty reported that the President and Provost were important to establishing the PSN and PSC; however, the general consensus was that their support for service-learning, in particular, was less clear. Faculty perceived that the administration's support for the PSC was the result of pressure nationally to make higher education institutions more engaged as well as from various constituents on campus. A faculty member saw the Provost who served during the founding years of the PSC as supportive of public service as a citizen; however, his support for academically-integrated public service was not as clear. He stated:

¹⁵ When the Commission was reauthorized under President Clinton in September 1993, it became the Corporation for National and Community Service and later simply the Corporation for National Service. The Corporation was created through the National and Community Service Trust Act in 1993 to administer AmeriCorps, Learn and Serve America, and other service programs (www.nationalservice.org/about/leg.history.html). These pieces of legislation created opportunities for higher education institutions, among others, to apply for federal funding to promote public service.

We had some really interesting discussions because [the Provost] was Mr. Volunteerism in the community. He chaired the hospital board, he did all kinds of things, but when we talked about making a video--and this was when the PR people got a hold of this--of making a video of Cornell faculty, staff and students serving the community, [he] said, 'no, no, no--that's private. That's not because they're at Cornell, that's their private lives as citizens.' So I wouldn't characterize him as overly open to service-learning....

This faculty member added that with regard to the President, it was "...not clear just how he felt about public service." Faculty saw his priorities more aligned with fundraising for the University. However, national pressure and pressure from Cornell constituents to pay more attention to civic engagement appeared to have influenced him.

Current Status of the Program

At the time of this study the Center supported a spectrum of activities ranging from student volunteerism to service-learning to participatory action research. According to Cornell's staff directory, the PSC had 11 staff members. 3,626 students served a total of 259,385 hours as volunteers or service-learners during the 2000-2001 academic year (CPSC, 2001). The Center was funded by the Vice President for Student Affairs Office. Formal activities described on the PSC web site (www.psc.cornell.edu) under the rubric of service-learning included the following:

- **FFIS Program**, which supports faculty to develop around 15 service-learning projects per year and involves close to 1000 students in service-learning per year.
- **Curriculum Integration Projects**, which are service-learning courses central to a department's curriculum (currently there are two CIPs).
- **Faculty Symposium on Service-Learning**, which is an annual faculty paper competition on service-learning issues, models or curricula that serves to disseminate information about service-learning to the broader community. These papers are compiled into a Working Paper Series.
- **Individualized Service-Learning Projects**, which include individually sponsored and supervised student service projects through independent studies, honors theses, directed readings, special research topics, internships and field studies.
- **Bartels Undergraduate Action Research Fellowship Program**, which provides funding for approximately 10 students per year engaged in action research in the community.
- **Cornell Urban Scholars Program**, which is an undergraduate internship program in NYC where students intern in innovative non-profit agencies and government agencies.

There were about 30 service-learning courses campus-wide at the time of this study, including those funded by the FFIS Program. The FFIS Program also served as a network to mentor faculty members who were developing service-learning curricula and projects.

In addition to service-learning, there were over 500 student organizations that engaged in public service activities at the campus, local, national, and international levels. Some of those formal activities included, for example:

- **Alternative Breaks**, which engage students in service projects and experiential learning in other locations during campus breaks.
- **America Counts Challenge / America Reads Challenge**, which engages students in a national educational initiative.
- **Cornell Student Technology Outreach**, which connects students who have interests in web design and technology with non-profits who have technological needs.
- **Food Distribution Project**, which allows students to collect extra food from campus dining units to distribute in the community.
- **Sexuality & AIDS Fosters Education (SAFE)**, which engages students in peer education and direct outreach.

There were also three formal PSC Student Organizations listed on the PSC website (www.psc.cornell.edu):

- **Community Partnership**, which helps students develop grassroots community service projects and provides students grants of up to \$2000.
- **Into the Streets**, which is a national student service movement that introduces large numbers of students to community service in the course of one day through approximately 30 local projects.
- **Student Survivors of Serious Illness (SSSI)**, which is an on-campus network for students affected by serious illness.

Supporting a spectrum of activities was important to maintaining the University's public service mission since, as one administrator stated, "I'm not sure the institution will ever be in a position that will fully embrace service-learning." She added that with regard to service-learning it has been difficult to reach certain departments and areas such as modern languages, philosophy, and history. While many faculty noted the limits of institutionalizing service-learning in a research university environment, they felt that the University could be doing more to support the PSC in diffusing service-learning. In particular they thought that the PSC needed a faculty director for the sake of legitimacy in order to reach out to other faculty not already engaged. One faculty member said, "...our

major institution for advancing this work is an under-funded minor office in Student Affairs, not in Academic Affairs, in which there's not one faculty member with any kind of appointment connected to it."

A criticism that faculty voiced since 1989 was the belief that the Director of the PSC should be a faculty member. Across the board, faculty felt that the original Director, who was not a faculty member, made little effort to reach out to faculty. One of the PSN members recalled that when they heard the original Director had been appointed, that "...for those of us who were concerned about service-learning, we saw this as a disaster," despite the fact that he liked the Director personally. Another faculty member recalled that early in the PSC's history, the newly hired Coordinator of the PSC recruited him and another colleague to strategize ways to link the PSC with academics. He reported that the Coordinator was an activist and organizer "and she was constantly pissing [the Director] off by, you know, doing things that were socially somewhat more controversial than just going and taking care of the elderly at the nursing home..." He reported that two weeks after he and the other faculty member met with the Coordinator about academic integration of public service, the Director fired the Coordinator. When discussing how the integration between public service and academics was marginalized, one faculty member assessed that the original Director's actions were related directly to the nature of the structural arrangement: "But that was the argument for [the Director]-- that it wasn't a program leadership, that it was an administrative role and the programs were semi-independent. That's why they didn't want a strong director."

When the Director resigned in the mid-1990s another non-faculty member stepped into the role as Acting Director. The Acting Director was appointed Director officially in 2002 after the administration's unsuccessful attempts to recruit a faculty member to become Director. The decision to recruit a faculty director came after a small committee of faculty reviewed the PSC in 2001 and recommended some type of faculty leadership for the Center. The faculty and administrators involved with the review realized that it would be difficult to convince a faculty member to direct the PSC full-time since he or she would need to put any scholarly work on hold. The general consensus about the most feasible and effective leadership model was to hire a half-time faculty director who would focus on service-learning, faculty outreach and leadership of the Center in addition to a half-time

administrative director who would focus on the operational side of the PSC. A few faculty suggested that the faculty directorship never came to fruition because the administration decided not to endorse civic engagement as an institutional priority as was previously thought possible. A faculty member said:

...Cornell was constantly polishing its sword but never showing up for the battle, and this was just confirmation that we didn't have the vision commitment despite...[being] one of the later universities to sign the [Campus Compact's] President's July 4th Declaration--that didn't really mean much.

He reflected further on how the proposal to bring on a faculty director to strengthen the PSC played out:

There seemed to be good support from the Vice President for this change. By bringing on a full-time faculty director for the Public Service Center, many felt we would be signaling the importance of service-learning to the intellectual life of the campus. We also argued for the establishment of a national advisory board composed of leading scholars and practitioners in the field. In November, I was asked to consider this position. Unfortunately, by the time our proposal had worked its way through the administration, the position was reduced to a 40% appointment. While I was still interested in the position, I felt there was a minimal level of administrative support that would be needed to make this situation workable. I developed a two-page outline of the administrative and development support needed; none of these modest requests were agreed to.

This faculty member asked for additional support in terms of staffing and fundraising. He suggested an undergraduate concentration or minor in public service or civil leadership, given the volume of student interest. When asked permission to approach a local foundation who had expressed interest in funding public service activities, the administration told him 'no.' He reported that he received "basically a tepid response to most new initiatives" when he proposed them to the Vice President and subsequently declined to take the faculty director position. So, the administration decided not to fill the faculty appointment at the PSC and instead expanded the existing Faculty Advisory Committee. They appointed the Acting Director to be Executive Director in 2002. Given the new institutional priorities on research in the life sciences, enhancement of campus athletic facilities and residential facilities, the administration did not allocate additional resources with which to grow the PSC. The faculty member added that:

The PSC budget has remained absolutely stagnant for 10 years with little increase. For inflation, there's less money now than there was when it got started 10 years ago. I think that's true. So, there wasn't full time support and when I went down the list of things that faculty had talked about being excited, that we would create faculty appointments in the PSC to begin developing the research and teaching, there was, 'oh...you would have to go very slow on that.'

The PSC review team also recommended that the PSC be moved within the Cornell structure from Student Affairs to Academic Affairs to facilitate closer linkages to the academic side. A faculty member described the review team's conclusion that the original vision behind the PSC had never been actualized, largely because of its structure:

The Vice President for Student Affairs has been very supportive of this work, [and] asked a group of faculty to do a review of the PSC, and we did a report which basically said that, while the initial promise [was] that the PSC was to embed into the core research and teaching units of the campus, an interdisciplinary research and outreach effort, that over time, the PSC has largely evolved into a student run extra-curricular, volunteer program of direct service. And while that had some benefits in terms of the Ithaca community, it also reflected many of the same limitations of direct service activity...where larger numbers of students are volunteering but it's not resulting in them beginning to question, or to think about the structural causes of social inequality or the policy solutions thereof and to join any new civic engagement. So, there was a committee [who]...basically came up with a five page proposal to really crank up the PSC by trying to move it from Student Affairs, to at least, joint governance between Student Affairs and Academic Affairs, to getting faculty involved in the work of the PSC, by getting buyouts so that they could really begin to develop some long term research strategies focused on the problems that community folks would identify, that there would also be more effort on looking at curriculum change and support for departments that want to support this initiative, and that there would be the creation of a joint community-university governance structure so it wasn't just Cornell deciding what the future relationship was going to be like.

According to faculty, the proposed ideas were met with lukewarm reception, and so far, little action. When asked about the current state of affairs of the PSC, one faculty member stated that the PSC certainly generated public service activities but will always be marginal to the institution until it can be brought closer to the academic core:

I'd say [the PSC is] the be all and end all [to civic engagement on campus]. I mean, there wouldn't be anything going on without it. Now, it will only become a serious organization when we change directors but the [original] director was very anxious to get the faculty out of it and did

everything possible to wall the faculty off. But the current Director who was Acting Director for two or three years...has a kind of vision...He has worked extremely hard to bring faculty in and to give students an active role. It's a little bit chaotic but it's also got so many placements to take care of with a small staff and it's a nightmare...um...the work that they go through. I think, under the circumstances, they're doing remarkably well.... Once [the Director] got to be in charge of this, he immediately went after the Participatory Action Research Network faculty and got us all involved and made sure that it was clear that we were now welcome to be at the PSC, whereas before we had been told [by the previous director] that we could die any time we like.

An administrator continued to question the best leadership structure for the PSC:

No, the situation with the leadership at the PSC has remained one of the big questions. There are lots of people out there, I think, who could do a better job in terms of pushing the agenda of the Center on the same resources. I think a lot of it is a matter of personnel management. I think it's a matter of who you hire and...I don't think anyone is convinced we're making the most of it so, and it's not clear why... basically, the last...four year period looks to me like...sort of a campaign of treading water because if they wanted to make a difference, they would have come back to the [faculty director] search. They would have brought in somebody dynamic who is a grant writer, who could really push this agenda. So, yeah, it's a complicated situation especially for those of us who like [the Director], and would love to see the PSC really move forward because you know, there's definitely a connection between the leadership and the state of the institution but, yeah, he's up against enormous obstacles. I mean their funding situation is harsh....[however], until we can find ways to do serious sustained, academic work that involves undergraduates and graduates and faculty and staff members, that address specific issues, it will continue to be kicked to the curb. It will continue to be an addendum and the PSC is a service organization basically, and they would like to do much more. And they do in some ways. I mean, the Faculty Fellows in Service Program does, I think, accomplish a lot in terms of faculty buy-in but it's small, you know?

The administration and PSC staff continued to be challenged by growing the PSC while maintaining the same level of resources. Faculty agreed that the new donor-funded civic engagement initiatives and Cornell's sponsorship of the New York State Campus Compact had certainly progressed efforts; however, many were skeptical that any sort of transformational change would occur unless the administration embraced public service and civic engagement as an institutional priority and provided additional resources. A faculty member stated that the administration would support public service to a certain

extent, but that they experienced difficulty in terms of service-learning since it related to the curriculum, which traditionally has been in the domain of the faculty:

The University always looks good with [supporting public service in] some way. Who knows what's enough? It's never enough. I think the administration is caught a little bit between a rock and a hard place, in a sense that administration can't tell faculty what to teach.... So I think the distinction between public service and service-learning is increasingly clear but it's still problematic because in order to have the service-learning you have to have the academic component. To have the academic component, it has to fit in the curriculum.

Despite the limitations inherent to spreading experiential learning in a research university environment, another faculty member stated that Cornell is still behind its peer institutions, most of whom are research universities: "If you look at us as the purely, Ivy League, you know, we're not in the top tier. If you look at major public land grants, we're not in the top tier in terms of this work....and look at the literature. Are they citing anybody from Cornell?... Yeah, *former* Cornellians."¹⁶

When asked about the prospects for growing and institutionalizing service-learning at Cornell, one faculty member said:

I think it will change on the margin, it has changed somewhat...but, I think, it will never be otherwise because that's just the nature of these universities' focus... You know, that revolutionary idea is that in order to change something you destroy the past and you replace it--I don't think that's the process. I think you enlarge...you enrich the offerings. If a faculty member, or if a large number of faculty members want to do research, they are going to do research. You're not going to change that and you don't have to.

Other faculty agreed that change would be slow and incremental given the culture of the University. A few noted that the PSC will never penetrate the academic core unless the University re-examines the tenure and promotion system and includes rewards for civic engagement that spans teaching, research, and service activities.

¹⁶ This comment was in reference to the faculty who resigned from the Field Study Office as it was in the process of being scaled down significantly. The former FSO faculty have published extensively in the fields of service-learning and experiential learning.

PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH AT CORNELL

[The administration] continue[s] to see engagement and application as a low level activity and that's a threat to the reputation of the University as an intellectual center (Cornell faculty member).

Well, it's certainly not a traditional form of research, so I think there's a lot of misunderstanding about it because PAR is not a method, but more, I think, a style of work, and so the misunderstanding, I think, is that people present it as a method and that gets confusing to traditional academics (Cornell faculty member).

Since the 1980s, there has been a small but growing number of faculty and students at Cornell engaged in Participatory Action Research (PAR). PAR is a type of inquiry that combines the values of democratizing knowledge production and advancing social justice. PAR is described as:

...a process of systematic inquiry in which those who are experiencing a problematic situation in a community or work-place participate collaboratively with trained researchers as subjects in deciding the focus of knowledge generation, in collecting and analyzing information, and in taking action to manage, improve, or contribute to a just and sustainable society (www.einaudi.cornell.edu/cparn/).

PAR was significant to this study because as research, it is generally distinct from instructional forms of experiential learning. In addition, because it is a form of research, faculty have debated its legitimacy compared with more traditional forms of research such as most of the projects carried out by the Cornell Presidential Research Scholars (which will be described in detail later).

There were two formal programs or entities on campus dedicated specifically to PAR. The Cornell Participatory Action Research Network (CPARN) on campus provided an opportunity for PAR researchers around the world to collaborate and share work and access resources. The Bartels Undergraduate Action Research Program was a new program aimed at engaging Cornell undergraduate students in PAR efforts. CPARN and the Bartels Program are described in detail in the sections that follow.

Cornell Participatory Action Research Network (CPARN)

The PAR movement at Cornell began prior to the formal creation of CPARN. Starting around the early 1980s, two Cornell faculty members were influential in developing the field of PAR and produced some of the seminal texts used world-wide to

educate participatory action researchers. A faculty member taught a course in PAR for graduate and undergraduate students for about ten years, which had been a critical vehicle for increasing student participation in PAR.

CPARN, also referred to as the Participatory Action Research Network (PAR Network), was started in 1991 with funding through the Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies at Cornell to create a network for participatory action researchers through which to enhance the practice of Participatory Action Research (PAR). The specific mission of the PAR Network was to:

...foster the practice of research that combines knowledge generation with learning and action for positive personal, organizational, and social change. The Network encourages worldwide and local sharing among practitioners and dialogue across the various traditions from which it has emerged (www.einaudi.cornell.edu/cparn/).

The PAR Network brought together faculty, students, community members, organizational leaders and leaders of social movements to network and collaborate on their research. The Network sponsored a seminar series that allowed participatory action researchers to share knowledge and experiences related to PAR. The Network also provided Research Consultations for those who wished to share their work and receive feedback, and planned special events such as conferences. There were approximately 10 core faculty members at Cornell who participated actively in the PAR Network, along with about 50-60 graduate students, about 10 undergraduates, and a number of administrators engaged in activities such as Cooperative Extension.

Bartels Undergraduate Action Research Fellowship Program

The first seven recipients of the Bartels Undergraduate Action Research Fellowships were selected in Spring 2001 to pursue community and policy research projects in collaboration with leaders in the community. The Bartels Program is a program funded for three years with \$90,000 donated by Cornell alumnus, Henry Bartels. As one faculty member described, the Program came about by “happenstance” when Bartels approached him and asked him to write a proposal for a participatory action research initiative, which would involve undergraduates. Administrators were concerned somewhat about how the Program evolved since the proposal did not flow through the formal development office channels. In addition, the nature of the student projects was somewhat

controversial, which reportedly “worried” the administration and the development office. As one faculty member stated, “I think the development professionals are averse to anything that’s potentially not controllable” and “...they hate the fact that alumni don’t like to give general purpose gifts. They insist on giving gifts for particular things. The alumni are, you know, reacting to being patronized.”

According to this faculty member, the administration’s initial concerns about funding the Program were related to perceptions about the legitimacy of experiential learning and civic engagement and their general reluctance to endorse it. This reluctance was rooted in the schism between the endowed and statutory sides of the University over who was responsible for carrying out the land grant mission. He described these dynamics:

Well, their general reaction to the land grant mission is to try and wall it off, to keep the endowed colleges completely separate from that activity. That’s not legally correct. The entire university is a land grant university but they refuse to accept that. They consider it to be the unique obligation of the Extension Service and the statutory colleges and they’ve just gone through a review of the land grant mission which has made it crystal clear that that’s exactly the way they think, so that if I were to say, the Arts College has a land grant responsibility, [the President and Provost] would not accept that. They would not like that.... They continue to see engagement and application as a low level activity and that’s a threat to the reputation of the University as an intellectual center.

An important collaborator in the Program was the Public Service Center. Faculty reported that the PSC was very supportive of the initiative and contributed a Research Assistant and some Center funding as well. One faculty member believed that, “they probably put in as much money on top of the Bartels’ money.” He added that the PSC Director worked hard to form a collaboration between the PSC and the PAR faculty and “made sure that it was clear that we were now welcome to be at the PSC....” Reportedly, support from the PSC for PAR varied over the years.

The students who applied for fellowships already had project ideas for community-based research. They were responsible for finding a community partner and a faculty mentor and had to participate in a seminar over the course of two semesters. Fellowship recipients received up to \$2500 to defray the costs of conducting research with the community and they received two credits each semester for participating in the seminar. The projects were developed collaboratively as follows: “Working together, program

partners set an agenda, learn the techniques of research, conduct research, and apply and report results. The program encourages respect for local knowledge and multidisciplinary approaches to problem-solving” (Crawford, 2001, p. 1).

A group of approximately 15 faculty and staff came together in Spring 2001 from various Colleges in the University to teach the first seminar, mentor students and supervise the projects. During the seminar they provided feedback on projects and spent significant time teaching the students research methods. A faculty member asserted that one of the barriers to the project was students’ lack of knowledge and skills about research:

Three quarters of the proposals haven’t got the slightest clue what research means, which is just exactly what I thought would happen.... People will say, yes, I’m going to do action research and they’ll describe action and they won’t have any way of framing or thinking about what it would mean to do this both as an action and a research project. I think it embodies the way we split thought and action. And also, it tells you the extraordinarily poor quality in the training of undergraduates in social research.

Students in the pilot seminar even conducted an evaluation of the course in a collaborative manner to practice research methods consistent with the PAR philosophy and improve the course simultaneously. The faculty also tried to set a collaborative tone to the seminar and discovered quickly the challenges associated with doing so. One faculty member recalled:

I had forgotten how uncomfortable a group like this might be with an unconventional, academic environment and so, yeah, there wasn’t enough lecturing...they had really not shifted out of the conventional course framework, and I hadn’t been aware of how hard that was going to be for them. So, I think we know better for next year that we have to sort of transition them into working in this freer space.

At the end of the year, students presented papers that they had written about their projects. Several students went on to develop these papers into Senior or Honors Theses.

PAR was often related to advocacy since students and faculty were working in the community to effect social change. Historically, faculty often viewed advocacy as too controversial with regard to several experiential activities on campus (e.g., Human Affairs Program, action research projects in the Field Study Office). When asked whether faculty placed limits on how political a project could be in the Bartels Program, one faculty member said that the faculty did not discourage projects that were political or controversial:

We have a project this year--probably one of the most successful ones--is a student doing lowering barriers to lesbian women in the Health Service

on campus. And you couldn't find a more sensitive topic and we have a proposal next year for a student who wants to stop hazing in the fraternities, and another Asian American student who wants to deal with the extraordinarily high rates of depression and suicide among Asian American students on campus. So, no, nothing is off limits.... More of the projects are off campus than on but I'm very happy to have them on campus. And if people get a little nervous about it.... The Health Service is very happy with this project and for them, it was a hard one to walk up to but having an activist undergraduate student bring people and so on...she literally permitted them to talk about things that they couldn't really walk up to on their own. So, students have an ability by being students, in a way, to take on some tough issues without getting people so whacked out.

Understanding (and Misunderstanding) Participatory Action Research

Faculty often had misconceptions about what PAR was; it was often perceived erroneously as a theory or a research method. Those conducting PAR use both qualitative and quantitative research methods, just as those who conduct traditional social science research use multiple methods. The distinction is in "how the methods are utilized, by whom, and for whom" (www.einaudi.cornell.edu/cparn/). This approach to research intentionally challenges power relationships that occur in knowledge production for the purpose of democratizing research (www.einaudi.cornell.edu/cparn/). One faculty member described how PAR was misunderstood at Cornell and how participatory action researchers could play a stronger role educating others about it:

It's difficulty is in misunderstanding.... Well, it's certainly not a traditional form of research, so I think there's a lot of misunderstanding about it because PAR is not a method, but more, I think, a style of work, and so the misunderstanding, I think, is that people present it as a method and that gets confusing to traditional academics. Whereas if you think about it as a style of work, I think, someone can do action research and still take responsibility for framing and reframing a problem, collecting and analyzing data, and so on, and even if that's done collaboratively, still they can give an account about how they framed it, why they reframed it, how they gather and interpret the data. But it's a language that is used oppositionally to traditional research methods, and I think that people... doing action research are more responsible for the problems than we want to admit, because lots of action research work begins with a critique of expertise, and a celebration of local knowledge, and then it kind of peters out because people are interested in theory. And the problem with the petering out is that all you've done with the critique of expertise and the celebration of local knowledge--all you've done is piss off traditional

researchers. You haven't told them why you have a method that's going to produce something that's credible. And that's certainly the name of the game. So I think there's a lot of bad philosophy of science in the action community--I mean I love the politics but I think that the theoretical work is thinner than it needs to be. It could be much stronger.

During my interviews I encountered a few faculty who discussed PAR and it was clear that they misunderstood the nature of it. When asked about PAR, one faculty member alluded to his perception that PAR could be equated with qualitative methods:

I guess, I myself, would say that I'm both interested and skeptical. I don't know what the general view of it would be. I guess I have a hunch that most people who do soft social science aren't really very interested and supportive of it, and the number crunchers would not [be interested].

Another faculty member shared the following perception about the process and rigor of PAR:

What did the radicals use to call this? Participation Research or something like that.... But anytime a sociologist did it, they had a hypothesis in mind. They didn't just go out there and mess around.

The misconceptions about the distinctions between PAR and more traditional research served as a barrier to legitimizing it on campus.

Framing PAR as Experiential

Faculty members saw a clear relationship between PAR and experiential learning, although its perceived relationship to various types of experiential learning has changed over time. One faculty member said:

In the capacity of someone who teaches action research, of course then action research without experiential education makes absolutely no sense at all. There's no way to practice, and if you're not practicing you're not doing action research, and so now it's clear to me that it belongs.... You can't do social science without practice. It's impossible. The idea that you can theorize social science just justifies armchair speculation, and so people who claim to be social scientists and aren't engaged in practice, aren't social scientists... This 'every six years and a sabbatical' model of social science inquiry is antithetical of this.

This faculty member saw the link between theory and action as essential to social science research. He elaborated and critiqued traditional perspectives on knowledge:

But the whole point of the action is to be testing ideas--testing formulations--testing your understanding of what's going on. Working collaboratively with local people and finding professional and local

knowledge, and examining the consequences that you can generate together--that's learning, it seems to me.

When describing the research of colleagues in his discipline compared with PAR, he added:

So in terms of their own intellectual practice, it's anathema and it's purposely anathema, purposely built to undermine the way they operate when talking about human beings as informants and co-opting intellectual property from other people and using it for an academic purpose. There isn't any middle ground.

According to this faculty member, there was a shift in language around action research over the past few years, largely because of the push for civic engagement at Cornell. While discussing how this activity gets labeled he said:

The service-learning piece is creeping into it because of the changes that are starting to happen on campus. So I came into action research with no conceivable thought of service-learning.

When I asked if he saw action research and service-learning converging he replied:

Very much so. And students have become intrigued by the notion of actually serving a community in need.... You don't lecture on it in the abstract. It has to be based on experience. So I suddenly find myself in the service-learning business.

Although PAR typically is associated specifically with research, faculty engaged in PAR and service-learning sometimes used those terms interchangeably. The commonalities between the two included giving the community voice and making the service reciprocal.

Resistance to PAR in the University

When faculty resisted PAR, it was rooted not only in misunderstanding it but also disagreeing with the applied, collaborative and social change aspects of it. One of the faculty members working with the Bartels Program described how students from certain Colleges within the University have had more difficulty obtaining acceptance of PAR within their colleges:

I have one [student] from Industrial and Labor Relations [ILR] and that's been the hardest nut to crack is to get the ILR people to accept this as credible activity of the undergraduate student in ILR. That's doing social change work.... ILR has the most radical split between their faculty and their Extension faculty of any part of the University. They absolutely, positively hate each other and they don't do anything that they possibly can together, and the faculty are terribly concerned as being seen as

academic and intellectual people and they are constantly fighting against the image of ILR as an applied school.

This perception of PAR persisted in ILR despite the legacy of William Foote Whyte, who was an ILR faculty member and one of the founders of the PAR movement. One faculty member explained:

Bill Whyte years ago told me a little story, a sad story that I never forgot. He was in Organizational Behavior and he was holding forth in a faculty meeting.... And so he started into the story, and he was interrupted by a young faculty member...who said, 'Professor Whyte, it's really very nice for you to tell all these interesting stories but some of us here have to do the scientific work..'

Some faculty expressed that they thought that PAR was not as rigorous as traditional scientific research.

Challenges to Institutionalization

Not surprisingly, funding was a critical issue in sustaining PAR activities in any formal way at Cornell. The PAR Network continued to be housed in the Einaudi Center since the founder of the Network was Director of the Einaudi Center. Reportedly "the current director hasn't had the courage, although he has had the desire, to kick it out." The PAR Network operated on \$5000 a year, out of which \$3200 was funded from the Einaudi Center and \$1600 from the graduate student organizations.

A faculty member working with the Bartels Program reported that because faculty and staff volunteer their time to work with students in the Program that it will be difficult to institutionalize it, and that if they fail to get additional funding "it will just go away." He elaborated on the time commitments:

I mean it already is such a burden. It's an extra teaching load when we're already working 70 hours a week. The University wouldn't dream of paying for it other than releasing faculty time to do this kind of work. They just wouldn't even consider it. And so, there's a point where self-exploitation reaches its limit so unless the students organize and go and insist, I doubt very much the faculty have any voice in these matters at all.

In addition, this faculty member reported that he currently serves on 35 dissertation committees, many of which are action research-related dissertations. Other PAR faculty served on a large number of dissertation committees as well, as graduate students became more interested in PAR.

Another faculty member concurred with the labor-intensive nature of PAR activities on campus:

And the people involved in it are some of the busiest people on campus...And they're very stretched so the same people who are on the PAR Network faculty are on the Board of the Community and Rural Development Institute, who are involved in the Community in Economic Vitality Program work team of Extension who are faculty who are volunteering to co-teach the Bartels Undergraduate Action Research [Program] who are on the steering committee of the Faculty Fellows in Service, many of whom have also been tapped for the Land Grant Mission Commission, some of whom have been tapped for the Cornell University Seminar in the Social Sciences.... This year, three of the folks I mentioned are on leave this coming year...So we're struggling to figure out how to even do next year's Bartels Undergraduate Action Research.... So I think that's one of the dilemmas for those faculty who are really committed to, a sort of transformative pedagogy that would integrate theory and practice in how much attention to devote to their own work as researchers and teachers and outreach leaders and the campus wide activities for which there seems to be a somewhat indifferent, if not-- well, just an indifferent attitude.

Many of the civic engagement activities at Cornell involved similar groups of faculty participants. They reported that they were often over-extended and had to make choices about how much time to devote to civic engagement-related activities.

One faculty member discussed how disconnected PAR was from other experiential and public service activities in the University and the challenges this created in trying to create an institution that is civically engaged. In terms of institutionalizing PAR as an important and ongoing activity at Cornell, he stated:

There's a lot of activity, but it tends to be meteor showers--many good things going on and then they die back and then somebody else comes along and does something.... And I would have thought that an engaged university would mean that each one of these things would be brought into an additive framework that would gradually shift the whole institutional clusters. And I don't see it happening.

This criticism, which was often given publicly, is discussed further in the civic engagement section of this chapter.

With regard to institutionalizing PAR activities at Cornell, some faculty were critical of the tentative approach participatory action researchers took with diffusing PAR. One faculty member said:

There's been a continual debate about whether or not we should try to crank it up, raise money and get staff and develop, instead of just a group that studies the theory and looks at the practice of others that we actually create a situation in Ithaca where we actually engage in projects, do it, reflect upon it and try to contribute our practice to the growing body of experience and not just be a repository.... I think it's somewhat miseducative to introduce people to action research in a classroom setting in which our practice is talking about others' action research. I think if we really take seriously preparing the next generation of scholars to do it, you know, you don't learn survey research methods by reading Peter Rossi's book. You learn it by reading the book and then attempting, under the tutelage of some more experienced folks and a community of scholars who care about it, being critiqued and reflecting upon your fledgling efforts so you really have skill and excellence in it. We're not really doing that yet.

Expanding PAR efforts on campus would require additional resources. Faculty also would have to develop strategies to bring PAR closer to the core of the institution, which some informants said would be detrimental because the program would lose some autonomy in the process.

One of the barriers for faculty who might consider engaging in PAR was strategizing how to translate scholarship generated through PAR into "tenurable" products. One faculty member asserted that participatory action researchers were sometimes responsible for perpetuating the misconception that it is difficult to use PAR as the basis for scholarship in the tenure review process. He had the following thoughts about the tenure process for participatory action researchers:

In this department, I don't think the tenure committee would care what they called it. The tenure committee would care: did they publish, were there results, how were the results disseminated, were the results influential, even if not published? They're going to look at the product. Well, more traditional units are going to look for publications. I think this is a problem in the field--again, there are those of us who are interested in PAR have been too blind. We have been too blind in there are ways that we could write up and publish this kind of work. It's almost as if part of the action research community buys into the definition of knowledge that they're critiquing, and by doing so kind of dismisses the action research itself. It's kind of crazy--there's no reason I can see that action research and PAR can't be written up and published every bit as much as other work. It would be different journals, that's true. The journals that are more open to historical work, more open to institutional work, more open to case studies. So in a lot of fields we're talking about, there's a wide

range of publications possible and it's credited as tenure review. And I think we in these related fields could do much better than we're doing. And then people will say, 'oh, but nobody will publish this.' I just don't think that's true. I've published in a bunch of different fields... I don't see any reason in the world why the case studies and analyses that come out of action research shouldn't be as compelling, as well developed empirically and as theoretically interesting as anybody else. I just don't see it--so I think there are many more opportunities but I think that we're partly responsible for not taking the writing up more seriously.

When asked about support from the administration, one person said the following about support from the Provost: "I think [the Provost] is skeptical as anybody else about it. I haven't seen anything to show that [the Provost is] more or less open." Another faculty member commented that the President's interest in learning more about PAR increased since donors became interested increasingly in funding public service-related activities at Cornell.

One of the goals of the Bartels Program was to create sustainable relationships with the community partners in the projects. This goal was consistent with the reciprocal notion of service-learning and PAR and spoke to criticism that the community had voiced about the problems associated with engaging students in public service. Specifically, there was often little continuity of service projects or participation in the community. Summer and term breaks for students often presented problems for community organizations that depended on ongoing student participation. In addition, the community sometimes saw the benefits of public service as one-sided since faculty and students sometimes failed to involve the community in defining which services are needed. A faculty member described the benefits of sustainable, long-term relationships and how he hopes these efforts will help other units on campus develop and formalize more sustainable relationships as well:

They get students who are more effective and better socialized so that they don't spend so much of their time just bringing them in and bringing them in and bringing them in and bringing them in. And so, you know, gradually, in a way, I think, we are using this as a pilot way of pressuring the PSC to officialize something that they're doing in practice, which is developing a more limited, more stable and more multiple set of relationships with local partners.

There were some signs of support for PAR efforts at Cornell. Between 1999-2002, three faculty were appointed explicitly to conduct action research and their work was

praised by administrators and highlighted in the local media. The faculty network for PAR became more extensive and more Extension people were involved as well. Student interest increased on the graduate level through CPARN and on the undergraduate level through the Bartels Undergraduate Action Research Program. However, most faculty agreed that institutional priorities and resource allocations needed to change to support PAR in order for it to become institutionalized on a broader scale.

CORNELL IN WASHINGTON

After about the third year, there has not been a State of the University address made by our President--we've had three Presidents since it started--who hasn't pointed out Cornell in Washington as one of the jewels...and I always smile cynically because it was such a damn hard selling job that they're taking credit for.... It still makes me feel cynical that they didn't appreciate it until it was a proven thing...(Cornell faculty member).

The Founding Years

The Cornell in Washington (CIW) program began in Spring of 1980 with six undergraduate students in Washington D.C. During the first year, the CIW founding faculty secured space above a restaurant to meet for classes and secured housing near the National Cathedral "complete with cockroaches," according to one faculty member. CIW grew into a popular and well-established program over the years. In 2002, CIW admitted up to 57 students per semester who all lived together and took classes at the Cornell Center near DuPont Circle while completing externships throughout Washington D.C.

CIW was founded by a few faculty members from the Government department and from Architecture and Planning. According to one faculty member, the impetus for CIW was that, "We can be in Washington--we don't have to remain centrally isolated... Washington is where the action is." Washington was an important geographic location for policy-related work since "Albany belongs in the statutory [colleges]" and they didn't want to compete with existing programs that the statutory colleges had in Albany. Another faculty member added that political science departments had become more policy-oriented over the past few decades, and that "the only disadvantage that a school distant from Washington had could be made up for in a semester" by providing students with some practical experience in public policy. While acknowledging that the campus experience was important, he described the benefits of off-campus experiences:

You know, we can convey certain things from here in Ithaca. We can teach courses on Public Policy here and we do, but there's something about being there, including being able to have an experience outside the classroom working in an agency or firm or something that conveys in a powerful way just what the process consists of. You can participate in the process of creating legislation or influencing legislation or administering or whatever. That you can be part of the process, that you're there and it's a piece of Cornell that is detached from Ithaca and has floated down a few hundred miles to this very, very important place.

It is important to note that the CIW founders were well-respected faculty members in the College of Arts and Sciences and regarded as top scholars within their fields. One faculty member in particular had significant political clout within the College along with access to resources, which helped provide some minimal seed money to start the Program. The founders proposed the idea about a program in Washington to the Provost in 1979, after about five to six years of trying to get an administrator to consider the idea.

When asked how the founders developed the original model for CIW, one faculty member responded, "by guess and by God!" The faculty member described the process as improvisational and evolving over time. The basic strategy was to recruit highly respected faculty to participate and build a critical mass in the Program. A faculty member added, "When it's a very well known guy around here, it does affect students as well as other faculty." An administrator involved in the Program's founding added, "I'm enough of a politician here to know that having people...who won the Pulitzer Prize--very famous, very well-respected people like that--are political capital that I could [use to] convince the...Arts College Curriculum Committee." The original staffing model was based closely on recruiting departmental faculty to take ownership of courses and travel to Washington to teach. Typically, faculty who participated had research they wanted to do in the nation's capital, so it was a mutually beneficial arrangement. When asked why he agreed to teach in the CIW program, one faculty member replied, "I taught in it, really as a way of getting down to Washington to do some research, and this was a way of getting the University to pay for me." He reported that his initial course didn't work out well; however, he continued to participate in the Program in later years because "I quickly discovered that the Program itself is really wonderful. I wasn't aware of that before." Recruiting faculty on campus to participate seemed important to the viability of the Program in the early years. According to one faculty member:

We had a crisis the first two or three years. How do we deal with this credit business because we did have courses? And one of the virtues of ours is we insisted that our own faculty choose the courses. They commuted or...my hope was, that being away, this would help us be able to finance professors who did have a need to be in Washington to do some of their research so that if they had some money [to do research], we could pay them for the class and pay for their travel. They would be willing then to teach a course in return and that's the way it's worked. So we can

advertise that our faculty are a home Cornell faculty, not just simply people we trump in Washington to fill our catalogue.

When asked how he convinced the Provost to support the idea for the Program, one faculty member replied, "He never was convinced...I wore him down." Ultimately, however, the Provost withdrew the \$30,000-40,000 that was promised to start the Program because funds were unavailable. Subsequently, the founders received help from alumni in terms of space for classes. In terms of funding, they were able to secure enough money for the first semester from the Department of City and Regional Planning, which had hoped to place more students in Washington. The faculty subsidized their own transportation costs by using funding from research grants when they took research-related trips to Washington. There were no additional staffing costs since faculty were already on salary for teaching. One faculty member reported that after the first semester, when students returned to campus with such glowing reports, the University started to provide some funding for the Program. In general, the founders perceived the Program to be a very low-cost venture since students paid for their own housing and transportation, faculty were already on salary, and students were already paying tuition. In 2002, the Program was a revenue generator, although it operated in the red roughly during the period of 1999-2001 because of enrollment changes and other unspecified reasons.

As the Program grew over the first few semesters, the founders were able to justify its continued existence to the administration, although it was a challenge according to one faculty member:

We were able to justify to the University that we could really carry our own weight. They should make it bigger than it is. It should have a graduate program, too. The University here is made up of a bunch of Old Maids. We just can't get them to see that a little up-front risk will pay off both in prestige in originality and actually pay for itself. I still can't get them to do that.

Initially other faculty resisted the Program since it was perceived as resource-intensive and competed with other courses in the department. According to one faculty member, other faculty saw it as either "you're taking my *students* or you're taking my *budget*."

According to another faculty member, the Government faculty members were somewhat skeptical about CIW since most were pure academicians and not practice-

oriented. There was also resistance in some of the other Colleges, particularly Industrial and Labor Relations (ILR) and Agriculture, since CIW competed directly with their programs. For example, ILR also had a Washington program and Agriculture had an Albany legislative program. The statutory colleges also limited the number of courses that their students could take on the endowed side of the University; therefore the statutory college faculty saw CIW as limiting the number of other courses students could be taking in A & S. In addition, there were some complexities around how costs were calculated based on tuition, given the double tier tuition system of the statutory and endowed colleges at Cornell.

The Program

From the beginning, the general educational model of the Program was for students to spend three days in externships while taking Cornell courses in Washington. Both faculty and program literature emphasized that CIW was a *Cornell* program that granted *Cornell* credit for *Cornell* courses taught by *Cornell* faculty. Even the CIW web site stated, "Imagine the essential services of the Cornell campus condensed into a single four-story building and dropped smack into the exciting core of the nation's capital. That's the Cornell Center" (www.ciw.cornell.edu). The residential college provided facilities for living, studying, attending courses, and social purposes. The web site stated, "It's Cornell, but in a small and cozy version" and that according to one of the Program's former directors, "CIW is the Cornell of your dreams." Although the Program still attracted a number of faculty from campus; the staff hired adjunct faculty from Washington to teach specialized courses such as the architecture course. The number of adjunct faculty teaching in the program contradicted somewhat the description of CIW as purely Cornell-based.

Early developers of CIW called the field experiences "externships--to make the distinction very clear--not internships--because they were to do research." When asked about making distinctions between internships and externships, another faculty member replied:

I think it's a silly thing to talk about. I mean because it's just a name....I think the idea is that an internship is something that is linked to career preparation, specifically...we don't want to convey that this has to be a career preparation experience.... They should feel free to work in something that is just interesting to them. You know, as citizens working in a congressional sub committee's research staff, finding out how the

legislative process works.... And I suppose, they would experience exactly the same thing if we called it an internship. And of course, the agencies who are sponsoring it call it internships.

Given the focus on research, the founding faculty created a methodology course that all students had to take. Each student had to write a thesis on a topic of his or her choice that related to public affairs, since the Program was conceived originally as a program in public policy. The externships reportedly were a new practice in the Government department, as there were very little, if any, experiential learning opportunities available. Early on the focus of CIW seemed to be on the coursework, not the externship, which reflected the founders' notions about academic legitimacy. The idea of students taking theory, doing research, and developing a thesis seemed central to the faculty.

Around 1996, CIW was diversified to attract students outside of the Government department and social sciences. As the Program was geared to include humanities students, the curriculum, types of externships available and focus of CIW changed. One faculty member was vocally opposed to what he perceived to be a significant change in program focus:

You can't be everything. It ends up you've got not a critical mass of anything. Even the standards are different. What do you do about the curriculum? What do you do about this course in methodology for some art historian? It just did not make academic sense. [It should just be] public policy and public affairs. That's what it was. There was this context on the Hill and Congress and in the agencies.

When asked about whether he would welcome other social scientists outside of political science, such as economists, this faculty member replied: "No problem...we would say 'where have you been?' And the sociologists--'where have you been?'" The academic turf issue here seemed to be divided along the lines of humanities and social sciences. This faculty member said that student interest dropped as "the program has lost its focus" and the students "can't even talk to each other in the same vocabulary." Another faculty member believed that broadening the CIW offerings happened in conjunction with a resurgence of the American Studies program on campus.

An administrator stated the following about this time period: "I got worried that the Program's viability as a catalyst for undergraduate education might be lost...." In addition she "...started to worry that we weren't recruiting the future [faculty stars] into the

Program [anymore].” When asked about why the pool of faculty interested in teaching with CIW had changed, she said, “The faculty were starting to demand extra compensation, so this was extra work as opposed to part of the work. All these subtle changes can have the effect of not attracting the people you want. Instead of being a plume, it’s like everything else.” She felt that the motivation for participating in the Program had changed as monetary incentives were added for faculty.

Not all faculty viewed the change in focus in a negative light. Most faculty talked about how it was important to make the Program available to a wider range of students. They concurred with a faculty member who said, “So there’s almost nothing in the world that can’t have an internship¹⁷ opportunity...but there’s not a field that, whatever your major or your long term career trajectory, can’t be served in an internship in Washington.” Some faculty also felt that it allowed a wider range of faculty to participate as the curriculum offerings were expanded.

In 1998, CIW expanded to include a summer term. This change resulted in the Summer in Washington (SIW) Program. The Program allowed students who otherwise would not be able to go to Washington during the academic year to have the same experience in the summer. One faculty member criticized this change:

Summer is no time to do anything significant in Washington. You can have some real experiential learning, but you can’t staff it and have a full curriculum, and a course in methodology.

Another faculty member and an administrator attributed enrollment declines during the academic year to the introduction of the Summer in Washington Program.

The Curriculum

When the scope of the Program broadened around 1996, the CIW faculty added a second core course, so that students could select between Studies in Public Policy and the new Studies in the American Experience. One faculty member estimated that only about 20% of all CIW students enrolled in Studies in the American Experience; a majority of students were still focused on public policy. The faculty also broadened the electives to include courses such as Public Policy and the Arts. Popular courses included a Washington History course and a Washington Architecture course. Electives for Fall 2002 included:

¹⁷ Although faculty used the term “externship” since the program’s inception, not everyone with whom I spoke made the distinction between internship and externship.

Civil Liberties in the United States; Ethnicity, Race, Religion and Health Policy in the U.S.; and Genomics and Society. Faculty were fairly autonomous in terms of choosing what courses to teach so the electives tended to vary from semester to semester depending on faculty members' interests and expertise. Students could enroll in 12-16 credits. The courses were intentionally small, which allowed for more faculty and student interaction than either typically has on campus. One administrator stated, "...it was actually better than what the kids were getting here, especially in Government in terms of faculty-student interactions, small classes [and] integrated living."

When students apply to CIW, they must choose one of the core courses: Studies in Public Policy or Studies in the American Experience. According to the course descriptions on the CIW website (www.ciw.cornell.edu), "The core courses offer you the chance to take advantage of the rich research resources of the Washington area as you learn how to do original research on a topic of your choice." The research project, which included both library and field research, was the focal point of the academic piece of CIW. Faculty members described the research projects as major semester-long research and writing efforts that resulted typically in a 50-70 page paper and often became the basis for an Honors Thesis in subsequent semesters. One administrator believed that most of the research papers were written on the level of a masters thesis. The core course, also referred to as the methodology course, had been central to the curriculum since the founders first developed the Program. One faculty member described the project that students had to complete:

We get superb project stuff that then becomes in a large number of cases, the basis of the Honors Thesis.... So, a high proportion of our kids come back here and not just in Government but in History, Economics, American Studies and we'd like to expand that but those are the primary sources. These kids end up doing Honors Thesis, usually based upon what they did the year before. So it's a good running start on a more research-oriented thing back home.

The focus for the Public Policy track was described as follows: "You will consider some of the most important explanations for, and evaluations of, the American policy-making process in both your core course and the electives" and "...in the course you will undertake a substantial piece of original empirical research on American public policy"

(www.ciw.cornell.edu). This eight-credit core course was cross-listed in Government, American Studies, Agriculture & Life Sciences, and Policy Analysis and Management.

Students in the American Experience track "...will consider the American experience from the vantage point provided by snapshots of America's political, social, and economic history, as well as American contributions to art, literature, and public philosophy." Furthermore, students, "undertake a substantial piece of primary, humanistic research on the American experience" (www.ciw.cornell.edu). This eight-credit course was cross-listed in History and American Studies.

In terms of the required research project, the founding faculty members thought that it was a good idea to link the project with the externship, but not a necessity. One faculty member stated that, "In the Washington program, where the internship is such as separate thing, we had to invent the project as the adjunct to it." However, another faculty member stated that, "There can be a perfect 100% correspondence or there can be overlap...Or, I will say, they can also pursue an externship that has nothing whatever to do with their writing.... It happens often."

Externships

Students were open to select an externship in a range of fields including public policy, biotechnology, arts, media, law, health care and finance. Although some faculty made distinctions between externships and internships and stated that they did not want CIW to be perceived as a career development program, the web site stated that the externship allowed a student to:

- Try out the career of your dreams
 - Check out alternate careers
 - Practice getting a job and learn essential on-the-job skills in a setting where there is a very comfortable safety net supporting you
 - Earn letters of recommendation from recognized leaders and experts, distinguished professionals whose letters might make your applications in the future stand out from the crowd
- (www.ciw.cornell.edu)

Program literature described how CIW staff would help students secure externships. The nature of this assistance was serving mainly as a resource for students. The Program kept a list of placements students used in the past as well as other resources for researching

organizations; however, it was up to the individual student to secure a placement. Students worked at their externships three days a week.

Credit for What?

CIW was structured so that students received credit for their coursework, not their externships. One of the founders felt strongly about not giving credit for the actual field experience, but instead developing a project for which the student would receive credit. He described the parameters for giving credit:

We restrict this because the only way to make a genuine higher education experience like this is to attach an analytic...a conceptual apparatus to it.... Experiential education should not be given credit *but* should be embraced so long as there's a conceptual apparatus of some kind...And the combination makes, what is to me, a risky thing--experiential itself--it can weaken, it can soften the curriculum if it is just experience. But when it's attached to an intellectual experience it takes two neutral things and makes them into a powerful combination...So, the experiential part is priceless but it withers pretty fast unless it's attached to the conceptual.

A faculty member reported that in 2002, CIW leaders were considering allocating two credits for the actual externship, which was a clear departure from past policy and philosophy. She reported that instead of offering eight credits for the courses, "What we may do is change it to sort of six and two, where the two is kind of getting Pass/Fail and / or we evaluate ourselves in some way. We're working on something like that." When asked how other University faculty have responded to the proposal, she replied, "They don't care. Most faculty probably don't even know there's a CIW." Although the proposal was in the early stages, some faculty associated with CIW had already expressed concern. This faculty member described the concerns that were raised in a meeting:

We can't evaluate what they do for the National Institute of Health or the Justice Department or whatever they're doing. How could we evaluate what they're doing? We're not going to call them up and ask the sponsor, 'well, how did this student do?' because that's a defacto shift of responsibility to somebody outside of the faculty. So what we've already talked about is possibly having some kind of additional seminar meeting on a regular basis with the students whereby they would discuss and bring things to bear on the seminar from their experience in the agency or firm. And that we might even require a certain written work of something tangible that we could evaluate that would be worth two credits.

Based on this information it appeared that credit would actually be granted for learning in the field that was reflected on in a seminar setting rather than purely granting credit for experience. It seemed that the proposed change from granting eight credits for the core course stemmed from a legitimacy issue about how much work would be required for eight credits. This faculty member said:

...in a way, we give them that credit and in some respects it may be illegitimate. That is to say, we're giving eight credits, which means to say, we're in a way giving four credits for the externship without any evaluation going on of the externship experience itself...And that's why we're thinking of some kind of shift in that respect.

These related, but separate, concerns could be characterized as ensuring academic legitimacy in granting credits and keeping the evaluation and credit-granting mechanisms in the control of faculty.

Enrollments and the External Environment

According to CIW leaders, enrollments dropped since about 1996, which coincided with both expanding the Program to include a wider range of majors and introducing the Summer in Washington (SIW) program. As a result, the Program became less competitive and the staff focused more on recruiting students. One faculty member felt that enrollments dropped because the Program "lost its focus" when it expanded outside of public policy. According to this faculty member, the statutory colleges were supportive of keeping the Program diversified, since students could get credit for CIW, and pay only state tuition. Another faculty member believed that enrollment dips could be attributed to competition from other programs such as Cornell Abroad.

The external environment also influenced enrollments during different periods of the Program's history. One faculty member stated that interest in CIW declined during "anti-political eras" of the Republican years. Referring to the Reagan Era, this faculty member added that, "a public relations kind of President who talks about the government as being the problem rather than the solution has a dampening effect, and I don't know that we've ever gotten over that." Another faculty member reported that as of 2002, enrollments were on an upswing. He said, "We actually had a waitlist for this spring, and then the anthrax thing [post-September 11th] happened and 22 students dropped out of it because there were parents who got all scared."

Organizational Structure and Staffing

The CIW Program was a University-wide program despite the fact that its directors always came from the Arts College faculty. Although technically it was not an Arts College program, faculty and students often thought that it was. One faculty member said, "We are answerable to a committee of the Arts College, interestingly. I guess the dirty little secret is that...it's Arts College because that particular course is primarily listed as an Arts College course." A faculty member in one of the statutory colleges described the Program's relationship with the Arts College:

The last time that they were choosing the director, there was somebody who was a candidate for the director who was somebody in the College of Human Ecology. But it's really clear that the director is going to be an Arts College faculty member. They have a particular culture that they...we send our students down there, but it's really....in order for the Arts College to be friendly to it, they have to do it the way the Arts College wants it done.

Structurally, the Program resided originally under the Vice Provost for Academic Affairs. Eventually the Program was moved to the School of Continuing Education and Summer Sessions, where it resided at the time of this study. Although it was unclear why the Program was moved, none of the faculty objected to its current location in the structure. With regard to the Program being in the School of Continuing Education and Summer Sessions, one faculty member remarked that, "of course, this is neither one, but there it is and it's perfectly alright. It doesn't matter that it resides there. Actually, it's helpful [because I have a close relationship with the Dean]." The Dean in charge was an administrator but also a faculty member and at least two faculty members felt like the Dean cared about the academic aspects of CIW. Several faculty agreed that personal relationships influenced the dynamics between Program heads and the administrators to whom they reported. These dynamics were notable mostly during leadership transitions when the dynamics between programs and the administration changed often.

In terms of staffing, the Director was a faculty member on campus appointed half-time to work with CIW while continuing regular faculty responsibilities. A full-time Associate Director supervised curricular issues, and a full-time Executive Director oversaw administrative aspects of the Program in Washington. There were three other administrative staff members in Ithaca and Washington to support the Program. The

original model developed by the founders specified that graduate students would act as tutors similar to the Cambridge tutorial model. The tutors would work closely with the students in developing and supervising the research project. The faculty viewed this model as positive: "It's an undergraduate program and graduate students could go there and be a tutor and have a place to live, and be paid modestly and continue their research. Now that would be reinforcing, not diverting."

One of the reasons for having graduate student tutors was the challenge in finding enough faculty to come to Washington to teach and supervise students. One faculty member was surprised that, "few people really want to go to Washington. They have their research and their classes going on here." On average, there were about four graduate student tutors per term to work with the students on their research projects. The courses were taught by Cornell faculty members who commuted or spent a term in Washington, as well as Washington professionals who served as adjunct faculty. While faculty felt that it was important to have a cadre of faculty directly from Cornell for legitimacy reasons, their general consensus was that the adjunct faculty hired to teach in the program were "very good."

Support from University Administration

A faculty member said that support from the University President and Provost was strong and that the current President even visited the program in Washington. In terms of presidential support, this faculty member added that:

I've always regarded [the President] as a professor in an administrator's clothing anyway and so, he's been very supportive. And the Provost--we had to go to the Provost, really, because we wanted the administration to be behind our proposal to the trustees to buy the building. And so that became an issue about finances and also, the Provost had to sort of rule on whether this was a permanent part of the University. You're not going to buy the building if you're not going to be a permanent part of the University.

He added that the Provost was willing to support the purchase because the building would be bought out of the CIW budget and would not require the administration to contribute any additional funds. The Provost also responded to the argument that it made financial sense to buy rather than rent, which the Program had always done. At the time of this study, the University was in the process of trying to purchase the Cornell Center, which it

had been renting. The purchase would ensure a permanent place for students to live, faculty to teach, and administrators to run the Program. Having all the residential, social, and administrative functions of the Program in one location would allow the staff to maintain the communal environment that several faculty felt was unique to CIW. As mentioned earlier, it would also provide a sense of permanence for the Program in terms of institutionalization.

Program Status and Quality Control

Several faculty members told me that CIW was considered the “crown jewel” of Cornell. One stated that, “After about the third year, there has not been a State of the University address made by our President--we’ve had three Presidents since it started--who hasn’t pointed out CIW as one of the jewels.” He added that praise for the Program was intended “to impress alumni, and I always smile cynically because it was such a damn hard selling job that they’re taking credit for...it still makes me feel cynical that they didn’t appreciate it until it was a proven thing...And even now, they drag their damn feet every time we threaten to cost a little money by some expansion.” The Program was regarded highly among other colleges and universities as well. One faculty member reported that: “Stanford was a direct copy of Cornell’s,” and CIW was also the model for other programs including Berkeley and Johns Hopkins. According to the CIW web site, “With our years of experience, other colleges and universities often consult us as they begin developing their own Washington programs” (www.ciw.cornell.edu).

Admission to CIW was competitive historically, although one faculty member reported that the Program became slightly less competitive when enrollments dropped. In most cases applicants had to have a minimum 3.0 GPA and all students had to apply formally through the CIW office, write an essay about why they wanted to participate in the Program, and provide a letter of recommendation. While the students were screened carefully for participation, there was little evidence that the externship placements were screened. When asked whether or not the placements were screened, a faculty member replied, “We don’t screen them because [the students] do it themselves with our assistance.” However, he added that they evaluated the placements after students used them by having students complete evaluations about their placements that were made available for future students to read. He reported that early on in the Program the tutors

would visit each externship site to ensure quality; however, that no longer happened because “there are too many of them, frankly.” The Program assisted the students in finding externships by providing advice about and resources for researching potential organizations, including the student evaluations mentioned above. While Program staff could help students “screen” potential organizations, students ultimately sought out and confirmed their own placements. On a related issue, externship supervisors were not asked to evaluate the student’s performance in any formal way, since the Program staff thought that supervisors would be less likely to participate in CIW if asked to spend time conducting evaluations.

Faculty and administrators who worked with other field-based programs on campus made some comparisons between their programs and CIW. Several faculty members criticized CIW for not integrating more closely the externship with the research project and other coursework. They recognized, however, that the loose relationship might have been due to the Arts College’s reluctance to give credit for experience and wanting to keep the courses distinct from the externship. One faculty member compared CIW with another field-based program housed in one of the statutory colleges:

And I think, in the end, if there is more of a relationship between the internships and the seminar [in CIW], it has never been explicitly developed that way. In our Program we have, from the beginning, understood that part of what doing experiential learning is about is sort of reflection on what’s going on in the experience that you’re having, and so the courses have been designed to make that occur, to have that happen. I think that the people that we’ve had involved and the kinds of experiential learning that we’re doing have a better understanding of what experiential learning is all about. And the CIW Program has not slotted itself as sort of integrating [experience and academics]. But when they set up the Program, the Arts College said, ‘we won’t give credit for experiential learning.’

Another faculty member reflected on the original program model for CIW and how the disconnect between the experience and the coursework was not good pedagogical practice. He said:

There are faculty in A&S who never would have had the internship piece in CIW. [One of the founders] put it there even though it was only a day or two a week and it was not centrally linked--all of those things that you and I know about principles of practice.... Experiential--yeah, that was a bad word in A&S.

An administrator added to this perspective when she described how CIW was differentiated during its founding: “But this was going to be the *research university’s* answer to experimental [sic] learning--it was not like [the] Human Ecology [Field Study Office]... It was distinct.” She added that the research component of CIW was what made it distinct. It is interesting to note that the Human Ecology Field Study Office also had a research component to most of its courses. What was unclear was whether this administrator wasn’t aware that Field Study courses also had research components or whether she viewed the action research perspective in Field Study as not as legitimate as the type of research in which the CIW students engaged.

The Arts College faculty I interviewed placed little emphasis on connecting the academic piece of CIW with students’ experiences. The main priority from their perspective was maintaining academic legitimacy within the courses. As one faculty member described, “You know it’s academically sound. In other words, we teach real courses and by the way, the courses are part of their record in exactly the same way that every other Cornell course is.” Comparing the perspectives of programs in different colleges within the University highlighted the various views of what constitutes academic legitimacy. The Arts College perspective was that experience in experiential learning should be walled off from the accompanying coursework, whereas most faculty in the statutory colleges believed that experience should be integrated directly with coursework. These dynamics will be explored further in the analysis chapter.

CORNELL PRESIDENTIAL RESEARCH SCHOLARS

In 1996 Cornell received a large gift from anonymous donors to fund The Cornell Presidential Research Scholars (CPRS) Program. Undergraduate research was significant to this study because it is a form of experiential learning that occurs specifically within the context of a research institution. While Cornell undergraduates had opportunities to engage in self-designed research projects, the CPRS Program was significant because it required faculty participation and sponsorship. In addition, the Program provided students with funding to carry out research projects. The CPRS description stated:

Designed in honor of the President of Cornell University, this highly competitive program aims to bring the nation's most academically gifted students to Cornell, one of the greatest research universities in the world. Open to students across all academic disciplines, the CPRS Program offers each student an opportunity to work with a faculty mentor. Together they design and plan an individualized program of faculty-directed research (www.commitment.cornell.edu/cprs/).

The administration chose to support undergraduate research with these donor funds because, according to one program administrator, "...undergraduate research was...the hot thing at the moment. [The Admissions Office] started seeing a lot more high school applications with students doing high school research." The primary purpose of the Program was to recruit top graduating high school seniors to Cornell, many of whom had already identified research interests. The Program was seen as a way to compete with other highly selective universities, particularly those in the Ivy League. The Program staff recruited 50 students during the initial year, with the goal of admitting 75 students each year thereafter. Some faculty were skeptical about the Program initially:

When the President made this announcement there was (sic) mixed reactions. Some faculty on campus felt, well, we already do that...undergraduate research, why do we need to change things? There was concern about how would the students be chosen, and how do you really know that a student is going to be an undergraduate researcher?

One of the first decisions the Program staff made was how to establish criteria for selecting students for the Program. Since its inception, the staff worked with the admissions office to identify potential Program participants. Initially the Program staff targeted students based solely on their SAT scores and GPA. Within two years the staff had broadened the criteria to consider students' prior experiences and interests as well. A

program administrator said, “well, just because a student has high SATs and good grades, being a student that we want to recruit to Cornell, that doesn’t necessarily mean that that student would be a good undergraduate researcher.” Additionally, just because a student was high school valedictorian didn’t ensure that they were motivated or passionate about research. She added, “...I think part of the problem the first two years [was] because faculty ended up working with these students and they’re like, well, there’s not much motivation here and there’s not much passion.” Program staff members moved the selection process to the college level so that students with particular interests could be directed to particular faculty with similar interests. Making specific linkages with faculty, along with broadening the selection criteria outside of traditional indicators such as SAT scores and GPA, produced better matches for both faculty and students.

Another decision the Faculty Advisory Board faced was whether or not the director of the Program should be a faculty member. Initially the Board decided that for the purpose of legitimacy it was important to have a faculty director, with at least a half-time appointment. In addition, the Program hired a full-time associate director to handle administrative issues. According to a program administrator, when the first faculty director resigned, the Board decided that the incoming director would not need to be a faculty member since the Program had been established enough at that point. The Board also determined that if there were any faculty-related issues that arose, that they could handle those.

Program Overview

The CPRS Program was the only undergraduate research program at Cornell that engaged students in research as early as the freshman year. Once students were nominated and selected for the Program and enrolled at Cornell, they spent the first semester in a Colloquium, which introduced students to research opportunities in the University and connected them with faculty through events such as dinners and speaker series. In addition, students were introduced to ethical issues in research and were taught about the research and tenure process so that they had a better understanding about the context in which research occurs in universities.

During the second semester of their freshman year, students began working on a research project. Most students sought out faculty members who had ongoing research

projects that matched their interests; however, students also were allowed to develop projects on their own with faculty sponsorship. Students were required to work 6-12 hours per week doing research and had to devote at least one summer to research during their time at Cornell. Students often worked with more than one research project because of changing interests or the desire to explore other domains of research. Sometimes changing research projects created problems for faculty. A program administrator reported that "A bad or not so positive situation is when the student goes into it [and] says, 'oh yes, I'm really into this' and then they [are] kind of like, 'hmmm! This isn't really for me', and then faculty gets ticked off because they put time into training that student." She added, however, that:

...for the most part, I would say 80 to 85...percent of our students, they just come in and they just...hit the ground running and by...sophomore year...you get those statements of 'this student is functioning at the level of a graduate student and they are, you know, better than a lot of graduate students that I've worked with' and that kind of thing.

Students often used their research as the basis of an honors thesis and could also receive credit for their research through independent studies. Students had to maintain a 3.0 GPA to remain in the Program and were reviewed annually by their sponsoring faculty member and Program staff. During their senior year they were required to do a senior poster presentation on their research; in addition they were encouraged to write and present as much as possible about their research.

Students participating in the Program received \$10,000, which they could use over the course of four years to pay themselves wages, purchase supplies, or cover travel expenses related to research projects. A program administrator described how this award to the student was a significant benefit for some faculty who didn't have large research grants with which to pay students wages or absorb expenses related to their research projects. Students who worked in areas such as the sciences often had resources to pay students wages, but humanities and social sciences faculty were less likely to have access to such resources and were pleased that students had funds from which to draw wages. In addition to the \$10,000 research support account, students received up to \$4000 per year in student loan replacement as a form of financial aid.

The Program required that freshmen and sophomores develop a research plan that described their projects and the number of hours they would work each week. In addition, students had to state their research goals and were encouraged by Program staff to reflect on the extent to which they met their goals. The sponsoring faculty member, student, and a staff member were required to sign off on each student's research plan. When asked about how substantive the research work was for students, a program administrator replied that the nature of the work varied. The staff communicated with students regularly to make sure that they were doing substantive work and would coach students to negotiate more sophisticated activities if they felt that they were being underutilized by faculty.

Recruitment was an important function of the Program, since its primary purpose was to get the top high school students in the country to enroll at Cornell. Specifically, Cornell was competing with the other Ivy League institutions. The University's commitment to recruitment was strong. During 2002, the Program selected and invited 171 students to participate in the CPRS Program. According to a program administrator, the Program had a budget to fly all selected students to campus during Cornell Days¹⁸ and flew in 82 prospective students for the 2000-2001 academic year. These students attended the poster session where seniors who are Cornell Presidential Research Scholars presented their research projects and had opportunities to meet with faculty and students involved in the Program. According to this program administrator, during the first four years of the Program, only one of the invited students who decided to matriculate at Cornell declined to participate in the Program. In addition, during the 2001-2002 academic year, only two students out of 75 failed to achieve the 3.0 GPA that was required to stay in the Program.

Although student recruitment was the primary stated goal of the CPRS Program, another stated purpose of the Program in the original proposal was to increase student and faculty interaction. In a research university, faculty are criticized often by students and the public for not focusing enough time on undergraduates. This Program was seen as a way to interest faculty in engaging undergraduates in intellectual activities that were central to faculty research agendas. One of the unstated purposes of the Program, according to a program administrator, was student development and helping new students adjust to campus life. The Program provided various support mechanisms through the faculty

¹⁸ Cornell Days is a campus-sponsored event where prospective students can visit Cornell.

mentors and Program staff to evaluate how new students were adjusting to life in the University. In addition, students gained professional development skills in their roles as researchers under the tutelage of faculty members.

Although many students requested academic credit for their research or connected it with coursework they had or were taking, the Program was not designed to make the connections between research and coursework explicit. The Program did not prescribe particular coursework or an explicit curriculum, but this program administrator stated:

but many do come back and say ‘you know, wow!...Either I took a class and now I’m actually using that information, or I started learning something through my research project either through reading or was trained or learned from a graduate student or a post doc or my faculty mentor, and now I’m actually doing it in class and it’s so easy.’

She pointed out, however, that these connections were not made explicit in the Program, nor were there specific curricular requirements related to the Program.

Organizational Structure

Structurally, the Program was located as part of the Cornell Commitment. The Cornell Commitment was comprised of three university-wide programs: The Cornell Tradition, the Meinig Family Cornell National Scholars, and the Cornell Presidential Research Scholars. The Cornell Tradition focused on work, service, & scholarship by providing financial aid in the form of loan replacements that were given in exchange for work or community service. The Meinig Family Cornell National Scholars Program also provided loan replacement in exchange for service and leadership in the community. The common link between these three programs was that they “recognize and reward outstanding undergraduates” (The Cornell Commitment Brochure, 2002). The focus on recognizing outstanding students was key to the CPRS Program, since institutions in the Ivy League institutions are not allowed to offer merit scholarships. All scholarships were need-based so these programs were a way to recognize students. According to a program administrator, the Programs were also ways to recruit them because a student who was a valedictorian “...is probably getting full rides [to] other places and the Ivies--they just can’t do that.”

The CPRS Program and its parent organization, The Cornell Commitment, were located under the Associate Provost of Admission and Enrollment. Although the Program

honored the University's President, it was not related structurally to the President's Office in any direct way. According to a program administrator, the first director attempted to create a closer linkage with the Vice Provost of Research's Office; however, "...there wasn't a whole lot of interest." In addition there was not a centralized undergraduate research home that provided funding and research opportunities to a wide variety of students at Cornell.

Although there were conversations about centralizing undergraduate research, she added, "One of the conversations we had was, 'well, it seems to be working fine. Do we need to change it? Does it need to be centralized?' So, I think, that's still up for conversation but at the same time, something needs to be addressed in terms of, it's always about money, in terms of what resources can students be able to access." The decentralized nature of undergraduate research made it difficult for students to know what types of opportunities were available; in addition much of the funding was restricted to students from certain Colleges or with certain qualifications. She added, "...undergraduate research is an odd thing here because it is so piecemeal."

Prospects for Institutionalization

Undergraduate research at Cornell seems to have the potential for significant growth in the future. This program administrator mentioned that the Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education's Office was placing increased attention on undergraduate research. She stated:

If you talk to us in two years, you'd see a very different picture of undergraduate research on this campus....what we've been doing is every month or so, all of those of us who...have something to do with undergraduate research, meet and talk about a variety of things--funding and how can you be more organized as a sort of central location and what are we going to do about those kids who keep popping up, and you know, we really want to be able to do something for them.

The administration recognized that the CPRS was an elite program and wanted to find ways to make funding and opportunities for research available to all undergraduates at Cornell. These points indicated that undergraduate research at Cornell was becoming increasingly important and the administration was willing to allocate resources to these activities.

RECENT UNIVERSITY-WIDE CIVIC ENGAGEMENT INITIATIVES

So the question is, if you're criticized for having a balkanized view of your land grant mission, and you're criticized for not mobilizing all of your team members...and you're criticized for lacking coordination, it's odd that you would then set up a structure which has, again, narrowly focused attention, mostly on the historic public units without looking at what the rest of the campus is going to do. It looks like planning through the rear view mirror (Cornell faculty member).

The lack of clear structure at Cornell to provide focus for the centrality of outreach and extension to Cornell's mission has created a perception on campus that outreach and public service are not valued (MSACHE Final Report, 2001, p. 12).

The Early Efforts

In 1999, the Central Administration began developing what was called informally the Civic Engagement¹⁹ Initiative, for the purpose of exploring how the University could become more engaged with its community and fulfill its responsibilities to the immediate and larger communities. The administration's decision to focus attention on civic engagement was related to a confluence of factors and influences, including general trends in higher education, an accreditation review that raised concerns about the lack of coordination among public service activities at Cornell, the Trustees' call for a review of the land grant mission, a review of the Public Service Center, and a growing relationship with Campus Compact.

This section describes the external and internal events that created the context in which the administration chose to address civic engagement issues. The initiative evolved to include a set of related activities that explored both the nature of Cornell's responsibility to the community and strategies for becoming more engaged. Activities included making key hires and appointments in both the faculty and administration around civic engagement, sponsoring the New York Campus Compact, and developing panels to review Cornell's land grant mission.

The Civic Engagement Initiative was the most nebulous of all the initiatives and programs included in this study, given the challenges inherent in defining what engagement meant for the University and the ambivalence some faculty and administrators reported

¹⁹ While some faculty and administrators made distinctions in language around these activities, most informants used the terms 'civic engagement,' 'community outreach,' 'service-learning' and 'public service' interchangeably. The issue of language and distinctions among these various labels is addressed in Chapter 5.

about committing financially and philosophically to particular types of engagement. Very little documentation existed regarding Cornell's strategy for becoming more civically engaged. However, a key planning document, entitled "Cornell as an Engaged University" (April 7, 2000), provided some insights into the goals and focus that Cornell might pursue. In this document, engaged universities were defined as "Institutions that are 'sympathetically and productively involved with their communities'" (NASULGC, 1999). The specific goals the administration outlined in the document with regard to civic engagement were:

1. To increase the number of students, faculty and staff who have a clear sense of civic responsibility.
2. To enrich the curricular and co-curricular learning experiences of both undergraduate and graduate students.
3. To increase the quality of life in the communities surrounding Cornell University (Cornell as an Engaged University, 2000, p. 1).

In the original planning document for the civic engagement initiative, the core planning group made several observations about the strengths and weaknesses of both Cornell and its surrounding communities with regard to increasing engagement. Below are observations about Cornell's capacity for engagement:

- A strong base of interest in and commitment to an engaged university exists at Cornell, while even the term and concept are unknown to a substantial number of faculty.
- Meaningful and substantial curricular and co-curricular activities exist in most colleges, with faculty, students and staff from every college serving in volunteer capacities in surrounding communities.
- Faculty support for engagement varies by concerns about promotion and tenure and the reward structure, by degrees of commitment to the mission of outreach, and by views of 'field' experiences and service as a [sic] valued assets in learning (Cornell as an Engaged University, April 7, 2000, p. 2).

The following were observations made about Cornell's surrounding communities:

- An impressive acceptance of working with Cornell undergraduate students permeates the communities. Many individuals and organizations are patient with the process of teaching students while frustrated with the limited number of weeks in a semester when students are fully 'engaged' with programs.

- A strong preference for working with skilled and experienced Cornell graduate and professional students and faculty exists in a number of arenas and organizations.
- Cornell Cooperative Extension in Tompkins County is recognized for its sustained commitment to improving the quality of life of the county.
- A multiplicity of community agencies and programs annually seek basic operating expenses and have very limited funds for experimentation with new programs.
- The planning horizon for community agencies and programs often differs widely from the university.
- A continuing resentment exists of Cornell as a major employer with very deep pockets that returns too little to the community (Cornell as an Engaged University, April 7, 2000, pp. 2-3).

Cornell contended with a complex set of issues that both supported and impeded the efforts to increase civic engagement. Many of the issues about Cornell and its relationship with the community became more salient as several faculty and administrators tried to increase civic engagement and make it an institutional priority. These issues will be discussed in greater detail in the sections that follow.

As a first step toward focusing on civic engagement, President Rawlings appointed a former dean as Special Assistant to the President in charge of three major areas: women's issues, department chair leadership, and community outreach. The responsibility for community outreach is of central concern here.

Faculty and administrators referenced an October 2000 meeting with the President's Council, which included all deans and key administrators, as an initial indicator of support for this initiative. During this meeting, the Dean of the College of Human Ecology presented an overview of current campus outreach activities. The general response from the meeting was that Cornell participated in quite a number of campus outreach and engagement activities; however, there was a lack of information about and little coordination among these efforts. One faculty member reported the following about the meeting:

So, it really turned out to be a smorgasbord, and it was actually quite well presented. But you just came away with, on the one hand, feeling very proud about how engaged Cornell is, and much of our research is dealing with real world issues--that's our land grant mission--and that's clearly

important.... But...I've been here 22 years and I was learning about things I had never even heard of.

As a result of this meeting, the Special Assistant to the President led an effort to create a comprehensive inventory of civic engagement-related activities on campus. The inventory was completed in March 2000 and provided an extensive overview of activities ranging from student volunteerism efforts to community-based research. The inventory was useful in understanding what kinds of activities were going on and where they were located; however, a faculty member pointed out a potential disadvantage to inventorying public service activities. She discussed how inventories did not necessarily evaluate the ethics and outcomes of particular activities and provided an example about a program on campus that used Cornell students to tutor employees on campus who can't read. She criticized that Cornell was exploiting students by charging them tuition for the service-learning course through which they provided a benefit to employees, thereby saving the University money:

The Program is subsidized through a contractual arrangement between the union that represents the employees and the University. Now, I'm not the lawyer, but it seems to be that is in effect a benefit that in the process of negotiating salary and benefits, one of the things available to Cornell employees is a literacy program. And they're allowed time away from jobs to do this. Who staffs the literacy program? Cornell students. Cornell students pay a significant amount of money [for tuition for service-learning courses] to help the University deliver on its promise to union workers. There's something not right in this equation--it's always troubled me. But that's a program that, I suppose we could go ask the University administration, 'do we think this is a good idea?' And they would say, 'oh it's wonderful, look what we're doing.' Are they hiring lecturers to do this?.... No! In fact students are paying--they're making money on providing the service to their employers.... I haven't had occasion to check for a while but it used to be the case that most of the students when they were done with the course were done working with the people. That's an example, I think, of how this thing kind of goes the wrong way that when central administration wants a laundry list of what have we done for the community, they're not asking how does this improve instruction, or how does this add to research, which is, I believe them when they say that's our core business. Let's talk about these experiences in terms of what do they do for that.

Impetus for the Civic Engagement Initiative

Faculty and administrators had a range of opinions regarding the impetus behind this recent focus on civic engagement. One faculty member had the following to say about why interest in civic engagement developed and some of the issues that the administration would face as they proceeded:

It's fashionable. I think, rightfully so, a lot of university presidents are concerned about how their institutions are going to be perceived over the long haul. I think it's very clear if you have a public institution--Cornell being both public and private sort of suffers from both of those. That if you're in a public institution, your clientele is the larger community out there. Residential education doesn't generate enough income to pay for the upkeep of these places, and research dollars have flattened over the years, even at research universities. So given those kinds of things, yeah, I think universities want to make sure that they're valued institutions. I think it's mostly political and financial. If I thought that the connection was about instruction or research, you know, we might not be having this conversation--those connections would be obvious....

When asked who pushed the agenda she stated:

Trustees. I think the trustees and organizations like the state legislature who ask hard questions of the University--'what have you done for us lately' kinds of questions. And that the President and Provost get put on the spot for that. So they, in turn, want examples of what are we doing for community? And what they get are laundry lists. So the Engineering School can talk about how they helped the community build a playground and the Hotel School can talk about feeding the homeless, and so it goes, and so it goes. And there's nothing wrong with those projects--and that's nice stuff, and we should be doing that--but I can't figure out if our students are benefiting in the process or whether they're just helping to sell the University.

This faculty member raised the question about who benefited from these activities, and questioned the extent to which the administration considered this issue.

Several faculty concurred that higher education institutions, in general, were under more pressure to be responsive to society. Cornell felt this pressure more acutely than other private universities because of its land grant status. Adding to the complexity of the responsibility was deciding where the University should make its commitments. Whereas the land grant commitment was to the State of New York, some faculty felt that the University's commitments should be broadened. This faculty member described how

Cornell's previous president was instrumental in broadening the reach of Cornell's commitments; however, she raised the question again about who benefited from outreach:

The previous president of this institution was here 20 some years, and he made it his mission to make this institution a world class research institution and used to say that our clientele is not the state of New York, or even the US--it's the world. That sounds pretty bold, but one of the things that happens is that over time when people start to talk about outreach--it's outreach to whom?

Another faculty member described how the administration and a few key faculty members played a role in developing this initiative:

I think there are probably 3-4 different things happening all at once. The President signing on to the Campus Compact, I guess, is just one little piece of it. I think the outgoing Provost has had concerns for several years about the University impacting the community. The outgoing Provost is an old, old friend and colleague of our dean...and he had been trying to encourage [the Provost] for a while, to try to think more about university service and research, and service-learning kinds of things. I think he was interested and I think--so my hunch is that he was behind [the Special Assistant to the President's appointment] to the Community Development initiative, even before, well, maybe along with this president signing on to the Compact.... The resignation of the Director of the PSC led to [an administrator] then assembling some of us on the Faculty Fellows in Service committee to do a kind of self-study about where we were, what had happened in the PSC, what kind of director we needed.... Part of the Provost's interest in this stuff came from his exposure to [a key faculty member involved with civic engagement], well before when [this faculty member] came.

Faculty and administrators concurred that the President signing the Campus Compact declaration was an important initial step in the development of the initiative. In addition, many referenced the reexamination of the land grant mission and the general focus on civic engagement in higher education as central to this focus as well. These two events will be described later in this chapter. Several people also talked about a book chapter that the President had been asked to write about the history of service-learning at Cornell, which was published in 2002. The President convened a group of faculty and administrators to discuss what should be included in the case study for the chapter. According to one faculty member, the meeting was critical in evaluating the history of the ebb and flow of field-based and public service efforts at Cornell and educating the President about that history:

And so they want[ed] a little case study of the Cornell story...what's our best program, and what's special about it, and why do you think it works? And we got into this very interesting discussion about the University's efforts and...we talked about the history--the waxing and waning of our efforts and how we made steps forward and then were pushed back and what a struggle it is to turn a major institution like this around these issues. And I think [one of the administrators at the meeting] felt that maybe some people viewed one of the major steps back as when the Field and International Studies Program in Human Ecology was dismantled under [her] administration. She then indicated that it was her decision to downsize the Field and International Study Program due to budgetary pressures. In hindsight, she admitted that this was probably a mistake given the work being done in the Program. I had never heard her, or any other administrator, admit that this might have been an error. She went on to say that the extreme budgetary pressures which the college was under had, in fact, forced her to make many difficult decisions. She explained that none of the Field Study faculty were involved in the administration's deliberations regarding these painful cuts because they were lecturers whose academic status kept them out of the College's major policy-making committees, which were controlled, in large part, by tenured members from the College's six academic departments. As a newly appointed dean, she had to depend on her senior faculty for counsel. In this case, their self-interest may have led them to recommend cuts in Field Study as an alternative to downsizing of their own units. ...And that was very interesting when the President and VP of Academic Affairs said, 'that has to be part of the story.'

The process of researching Cornell's history with service-learning for the chapter, allowed those involved with writing it to look at the history systematically as they decided what the key points were in Cornell's public service history. Despite what the faculty member above said, the published chapter stated that the Field and International Studies Program was downsized for budgetary reasons (Rawlings et al., 2002).

The Role of Campus Compact and the Creation of the New York Campus Compact

Perhaps the most public indication of the University's commitment to civic engagement occurred when the President signed the Campus Compact Declaration on the Civic Responsibility of Higher Education in 1999, which meant that the President committed to the following responsibilities:

- 'To help Americans understand the histories and contours of our present challenges as a diverse democracy,' and
- To help 'catalyze and lead a national movement to reinvigorate the public purposes and civic mission of higher education.' (Presidents' Declaration on the Civic

Responsibility of Higher Education, 1999) in (Cornell as an Engaged University, 2000, p. 1):

Several faculty and administrators mentioned Campus Compact as an influence on both the decision to create this initiative and the strategies that were being developed. But not all faculty saw the President's signing of the Declaration as a clear commitment to civic engagement and several described Cornell's commitment as politically motivated. One faculty member said the following when asked what impact this event had on the development of civic engagement on campus and alluded to possible co-optation and the influence of peer institutions:

Well, it's backing in. I mean, the President refused to sign the Campus Compact originally and then by magical ink, it suddenly turned out that six months before he actually signed it, it had been signed by him.... And Cornell *just* joined the Campus Compact after all this time. And all of the sudden there are 600 universities or something like that that signed.... The fact that the other Ivies have service-learning and have joined the Campus Compact is why we joined.... And so when that many people think it's a good thing, I start to wonder...what this really means now. Is this co-optation of some kind of initiative? Is it about universities seeing more activism among students and trying to find a mechanism for surrounding it in some way to keep it from getting out of hand? I don't know.

A related event was the creation of a New York Campus Compact²⁰. One faculty member reported that when representatives from the national office began talking about creating a New York office, they originally approached Cornell about sponsoring it but Cornell declined the offer. The national office then approached Pace University about sponsoring the office, but several of the people involved in the decision felt that there was already too much focus with regard to service efforts on New York City at the expense of the rest of the state. That, combined with the geographical preferences of potential candidates for the director position, and a re-examination of Cornell's willingness to support the office, led Cornell to become the sponsor for the New York Campus Compact. A faculty member described how these events unfolded:

[One of the candidates for Director asked me] would there be any openness on the part of Cornell to hosting it and I said that, actually, there

²⁰ The national Campus Compact is supported by network offices located in 30 states, with an additional seven state offices in development (www.compact.org).

had been some discussion initially and interestingly, [one administrator] said, 'given the fact that we're not really cranking up public service at Cornell at the moment, this may not be the best place for it and we don't have any extra money.' So, Cornell was initially approached and it said, 'not now.' And when I heard that, I thought that was a missed opportunity....wouldn't it be good to have Campus Compact here and really highlight this kind of work.... When [the PSC director] was then approached about the idea, he basically said, 'listen, if you're not going to resource the PSC, why would we then turn around and take a flat budget and allocate it to Campus Compact?'... [Some key representatives from Campus Compact came to a meeting about public service] and then several faculty spontaneously got up at a public lecture and said, 'wouldn't Cornell be a great place? Is that something you'd be interested in, President Rawlings?' And the answer was, 'yes'.... So, then Cornell matched Pace's financial commitment. The people at Pace were gracious in sort of allowing it to move to Cornell. Not opposing it and...they had the courage and the commitment to step up. We said, 'no,' and now we're going to end up having it be on our campus.

An administrator provided the following explanation of Cornell's reluctance to sponsor the state office:

I mean, I think, if there was any caution it was because we didn't want to be viewed as if we were stepping on Pace's toes because the President of Pace had been so gracious coming forward and particularly since, and they had done a search, were not successful in the initial round of hiring somebody, you know, and then you had September 11, and so you didn't want to perceive that we were pulling out of NYC because of what had happened on September 11. So, it was a fairly delicate negotiation.

A faculty member added the following perspective on the state office's potential influence on Cornell faculty both intellectually and financially:

I think if it does the kind of advanced training and civic engagement and policy dialogues, it could really help reinforce the fundamental, intellectual nature of this kind of work, and its importance to knowledge generation and transmission which, I think, that has to just constantly be reinforced in an environment where the approach to learning is very narrowly constructed around, sort of, lab-based experimentation as a way to enlightenment.... And, I also think, that having someone on the campus who knows about the changing funding structures that might help the faculty who have been struggling in their isolated pods to identify resource flows that might allow us to build a kind of campus wide institutional support for this but...that would be great.

One administrator had mixed feelings about Cornell's sponsorship of the state Compact office and described the dilemma as follows:

But, hopefully, its influence will be big. The flip side of it-- and this is, again, one of the tricky dynamics that's hard to work around. The flip side of their coming here is that, how embarrassing that we haven't done anything significant, and they set up shop here. Oh, they're being housed at Cornell. Wow! Cornell must really be a powerhouse for civic engagement and outreach. Yeah... No! No! No!

Campus Compact had a visible impact on Cornell's civic engagement planning efforts; however, several faculty pointed out the reluctance with which Cornell joined Campus Compact.

Land Grant Mission Review

In 2001 the President, Provost, and Board of Trustees initiated a major review of Cornell's land-grant mission in the 21st century based on concerns about Cornell's relationship with the community that were raised in an accreditation review in 2001 and the Trustee's concerns about how Cornell was fulfilling its land grant mission. The President and Provost appointed panels comprised of faculty and administrators in five different areas that represented institutional priorities in terms of outreach:

1. Outreach / Extension: Colleges of Agriculture and Life Sciences, Human Ecology, and Veterinary Medicine
2. Outreach / Extension: Industrial and Labor Relations
3. Engineering Outreach: Economic Development
4. K-12 Education
5. Technology Transfer

In an effort to implement the review process, the President appointed the Special Assistant to the President as the Vice Provost for Land Grant Affairs.

Given its long history as a land grant institution, Cornell "now seeks more contemporary interpretations of the land grant mission" for the 21st century. This interest arose when the Middle States Association evaluation team called for ongoing discussion about "what it means to be an Ivy-League, land-grant, fully engaged university" in its 2001 accreditation review of the University. While the evaluation team prepared a very positive overall report about the University, they were critical about the lack of coordination around public service activities. One faculty member reported that this finding helped trigger the land grant mission review. The evaluation team noted that Cornell was "an unusually complex institution" (MSACHE Final Report, 2001, p. 4) given its dual roles as a private

research university and a public land grant institution. The evaluation team wrote the following about outreach and extension at Cornell:

Outreach and extension are central to Cornell's mission.... According to the Self-Study, outreach at Cornell takes a variety of forms, including 'technology transfer, technical assistance, demonstration projects, evaluation studies, for credit and not-for-credit instruction, formal and informal education, distance learning, policy analysis, and consulting, as well as community and public service'.... During our visit, the team was impressed with the breadth and depth of outreach in the contract colleges, as well as with the work being performed around the State by the Cornell Cooperative Extension System (MSACHE Final Report, 2001, p. 11).

However, they added the following critique:

One recurring motif throughout our visit was the fragmented way in which outreach is organized and administered at Cornell.... The lack of clear structure at Cornell to provide focus for the centrality of outreach and extension to Cornell's mission has created a perception on campus that outreach and public service are not valued (MSACHE Final Report, 2001, p. 12).

The evaluation team made the following recommendation to address this problem:

It is our understanding that approximately seven years ago, Cornell created an Outreach Council as a forum to bring the outreach community together to discuss issues of mutual concern, but the Council was later disbanded. Reviving this Council in some form might also help reduce the fragmentation of outreach at the institution.... We were pleased to learn that the leadership of Cornell gives a high priority to the land-grant aspects of the university, with a vision of making them even more relevant in the 21st century (MSACHE Final Report, 2001, p. 12).

Two other faculty members mentioned the irony behind the administration shutting down the Outreach Council just prior to embarking on the civic engagement initiative and a review of the land grant mission. According to one faculty member, the Director of the Outreach Council was removed from her position without much explanation after she had compiled an extensive inventory of outreach activities on campus.

In addition to the influence of the accreditation evaluation team, one faculty member described how the University Trustees were influential in recommending the land grant mission review. He asserted that changes such as shift in language caused some concern about the University's commitment to the land grant mission:

We have had a number of trustees who have been raising questions about what the land grant commitment to the University has been. It was very contentious; several trustees pushed the deans and the President to wanting to know, where the beef is in terms of the University's commitment to these things. They were particularly troubled, I think, by the shift in language. We stopped calling the 'statutory colleges' at Cornell that, and we now call them 'contract colleges'.... And the President began, in several public arenas, pointing out that we were not a public university, that we were a private university with a public mission.

An administrator described the impetus of the review and pointed out the unique context of Cornell:

I think the most accurate representation of the impetus behind this is that people feel that Cornell is...uniquely gifted and uniquely positioned to do a better job than it's doing, and we want to look at what we really feel we should be doing and...how we can move toward that more efficiently. And it's bound up with all kinds of problems. I mean most schools that are land grant are land grant. You know, we are a land grant university with multiple colleges that forget that all the time. It varies a lot but yeah there's very little understanding that Cornell was founded as a land grant institution....and sometimes it's even the same people who critique, you know, the American Policy of Amnesia, right?!

Faculty and administrators drew attention repeatedly to the schisms that existed between the endowed and statutory sides of the University when they discussed various experiential learning initiatives. The tensions highlighted academic status and marginality issues. In addition, they emphasized different perceptions about which Colleges in the University had a direct responsibility to the State of New York. During interviews, several faculty in Arts & Sciences referred to the endowed side of the University as "The Ivy part of the school." These perceptions about academic status and whose responsibility the land grant mission was one of the obstacles in getting faculty from all Colleges to engage in the discussion about civic engagement. One administrator reflected on this challenge:

There's so much going on at this point that it's actually very exciting because it's a vantage point from which to see all the different things that are happening.... There are two pieces of the conversation now. One of them is about basically getting buy-in from the mainstream faculty. Trying to turn this from...what many people view as a fringe set of interests into the really core, baseline, you know, foundational set of interests that it really is, and how do we tell people that this is not about us. It's about their own self-interests as well.

The structures and systems that were in place in each College only exacerbated the differences. The Cornell tuition system created some conflict around resources since students in the statutory colleges paid different tuition than those on the endowed side, which affected the revenue of certain experiential learning programs. For example, a student in the College of Human Ecology who participated in Cornell in Washington would pay less tuition for the same experience than a student in Arts & Sciences would. Faculty also reported that academic status issues arose when the Arts College created barriers for students who wanted to get academic credit from the statutory colleges. One faculty member said that having different structures and policies sometimes impeded cross-college collaboration. He added that when he had dual appointments on the endowed and statutory sides of the University, he had two pension plans and used two different phone cards. The differences between the public and private sides of the institution were cultural, financial, and intellectual in nature and often made collaboration across the two sides difficult or impractical.

Faculty were critical generally about the process of the land grant mission review and how the panels were organized. The outreach priorities focused largely on the statutory colleges, which were already the primary source of outreach activities. The purpose of the mission review was to determine how *all* colleges in the University could contribute to this mission. One faculty member said:

And while they say the land grant responsibility is campus wide, four of the six [review panels] focus narrowly on the four contract colleges and the only two campus wide committees-- one deals with technology and the other one deals with K-12 education, which many folks sort of cynically believe is there because Cornell has encountered some difficulties in renewing their NSF grants because they fail to really do the Public Science Education and so now, we've gotten religion around K-12 Science and Math Education. So the question is, if you're criticized for having a balkanized view of your land grant mission, and you're criticized for not mobilizing all of your team members...and you're criticized for lacking coordination, it's odd that you would then set up a structure which has, again, narrowly focused attention, mostly on the historic public units without looking at what the rest of the campus is going to do. It looks like planning through the rear view mirror. It seems like our approach on this thing reflects all of the criticisms raised in the Middle States Evaluation Report itself.

Another faculty member was skeptical about the administration's commitment to re-energizing the land grant mission:

Well, [the administration's] general reaction to the land grant mission is to try and wall it off, to keep the endowed colleges completely separate from that activity. That's not legally correct. The entire University is a land grant university but [the administration] refuse[s] to accept that. They consider it to be the unique obligation of the Extension Service and the statutory colleges and they've just gone through a review of the land grant mission, which has made it crystal clear that that's exactly the way they think, so that if I were to say, the Arts College has a land grant responsibility, [the administration] would not accept that.... They don't see it that way. They continue to see engagement and application as a low level activity and...that's a threat to the reputation of the University as an intellectual center.

This faculty member elaborated further on how the land grant mission was seen as a threat to the academic status of the institution as a whole:

[The administration is] very prestige conscious. If you're going to rise in the National Research Council Rankings, you're going to play the game according to the Ivy rules and they're really obsessively concerned with rising in those rankings. Those rankings are deleterious to anything having to do with land grant and with anything having to do with action and social engagement.... They're pure, verified professional society driven kinds of ranking systems. I mean, I've seen the protocol that they use for ranking and...that's their strategy. So, they're sort of embarrassed about the land grant mission.

Several informants participated formally or informally on the review panels.

Faculty reported that the land grant mission was unclear, much like it was unclear what it meant for Cornell to be engaged with its community. Much of the ambiguity related to the complexity and decentralized nature of the campus. One faculty member recalled a conversation he had with an administrator:

She said, 'when the President is asked what Cornell's public mission is, he can't answer the question.' And that is refreshingly honest, and few people can answer that question today. It's extremely complex to figure out what the public mission and work, I would add, because mission is rhetoric on paper and work is what people are actually doing and they're not the same thing. You know, institutions like this are extremely complex. Nobody knows...even a fraction of what's actually happening, and there is no discussion about this question, and there hasn't been for as long as probably anybody can remember. No serious discussion.

This faculty member also reflected on the lack of in-depth analysis and reflection that existed in the review panel meeting he attended:

...those conversations were appallingly superficial and vague... And the entire meeting up until the panel discussion was essentially running over the realization over and over again. If you want to go to Albany and ask for any money for anything at Cornell, you better be able to describe or defend how it is, what you're asking for money for is going to create jobs. If it isn't going to create jobs, then don't even bother going to Albany.... And so they basically said that over and over and over again for 2 ½ hours so when it came [time] to [answer] the land grant mission question, you know, what a surprise! [The Provost] gets the floor and says, 'you know what the land grant mission is about? It's about creating jobs. That's what it's about. That's what we do and do you know how we do that? Faculty create research knowledge. Extension disseminates the research knowledge and we get jobs.' I mean, that's just appallingly simplistic and...you know, that really smart people would actually articulate something so incredibly simplistic and so disconnected from any study of what actually happens is a sign of how...unsophisticated our thinking is about this and how little there is to draw on, for people to imagine or understand what this work is about. All the deans agreed with the Provost.... So, the mixed message is, I think, there's really great stuff people are doing here at Cornell on one hand and on the other hand, there's no public conversation about it, very little understanding of it which means, in part, that our policy making at the College and department level in terms of tenure and promotion and all of these kinds of things, our ability to articulate this kind of stuff when we're trying to raise public funds and things like that are really very weak. Now, I understand the complexities of the politics around this. It's this thing about Albany not wanting to hear about anything unless it creates jobs is a real thing, and Upstate New York is desperately poor and this is Appalachia.

The leaders of the land grant review provided the following experiential learning-related rationales for initiating the review:

- Cornell's administration and some leading faculty are interested in engaging disciplines across the university in translating the outcomes of research and scholarly work for the public benefit.
- Cornell is committed to the involvement of students, faculty, and staff in interaction with the public outside the classroom through research, community-based learning, and participation
(www.provost.cornell.edu/land_grant/mission_review/).

In the final report that was submitted in 2002, certain panels placed greater emphasis on experiential learning than others. For example, the Outreach / Extension

Panel, which included the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, College of Human Ecology, and College of Veterinary Medicine recommended “integration of the teaching, research, and outreach functions through service learning and public scholarship; and leadership and incentives to develop external collaborative relationships” (Land Grant Mission Review, 2002, p. 2). The panel asserted that “outreach is a form of education” and that the University must embark upon a funding campaign for outreach efforts at a level of commitment similar to those made to athletics and life sciences. The panel expressed concern “about the level of bureaucracy in the system and the insufficient funding levels to pursue the current level of outreach and extension” (Land Grant Mission Review, 2002, p. 2).

The other panels made few, if any, explicit commitments in the report to using experiential learning as a form of outreach. The Technology Transfer Panel made brief mention of focusing efforts on public scholarship, although “public scholarship” was not defined. The K-12 Panel set a goal to “create and implement innovative university K-12 Science, Math, Engineering, and Technology (SMET) outreach programs and to conduct meaningful scholarship to advance understanding of effective university K-12 outreach practices” (Land Grant Mission Review, 2002, p. 3). Both the Industrial and Labor Relations Outreach / Extension Panel and the Engineering Outreach: Economic Development Panel had no mention of experiential learning as a form of outreach in their recommendations. The ILR panel identified the following barriers to change:

- The University should adopt a clear and unwavering stance on its commitment to public service.
- The University should centrally coordinate all public service endeavors to assist with cross college collaborations and partnerships (Land Grant Mission Review, 2002, p. 5).

The Outreach / Extension Panel for the College of Agricultural and Life Sciences, College of Human Ecology, et al. asserted that:

The university must develop ways to better support service learning and public scholarship. By linking classroom learning with real-world problem solving, a vigorous and scholarly outreach program can serve as a strong platform for achieving our educational mission of offering to students a combined liberal and practical education. The best service-learning work does this well. So does public scholarship, which engages

scholars with community members in research, deliberation, and problem solving to address pressing public problems in specific contexts.

These recommendations indicated a pattern of differential commitment to certain types of outreach²¹ and outreach as a whole across different units in the University.

COPC Grant and Town-Gown Relationships

In 1999 the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) awarded Cornell \$400,000 to develop a partnership with the city of Ithaca called the Community Outreach Partnership Center (COPC). The COPC grant was significant to this study since it was a public manifestation of what one faculty member referred to as “very acrimonious town/gown relationships” between Cornell and the city of Ithaca. Several faculty and administrators mentioned the grant as having the potential to develop real partnerships in the community; however, they all agreed that the COPC has only deepened the tensions between the University and the community.

The stated purpose of the COPC was to address the needs and concerns of its neighborhoods and improve the quality of life for its citizens. Cornell’s community partners pledged an additional \$1.5 million in cash and services to advance the project (Lang, 1999). According to the Principal Investigator of COPC, “the grant allows Cornell to further its role as the land grant university of New York, applying research to outreach” (Lang, 1999, p. 2). Projects are to be carried out through a variety of outreach activities including public service, service-learning and research. The mission and scope of the COPC was:

...to develop a collaborative partnership between Cornell University students, faculty, staff, residents from the Ithaca Flats neighborhoods, community-based organizations, churches, and City of Ithaca government agencies to focus attention and action on neighborhood initiatives in the following areas:

- Youth development and job training
 - Personal financial management, micro-enterprise
 - Neighborhood planning
 - Housing, environmental assessment, and street safety
- (www.cs.cornell.edu/wallis/COPC/copc.htm)

One of the projects in the area of youth development and job training, for example, was the development of a community-based computer lab for youth in the Southside neighborhood.

²¹ outreach in this case is construed broadly to include extension, service-learning, public service, etc.

This collaborative effort was intended to address “the digital divide” and involved staff, students and faculty as well as local residents.

While the COPC grant was intended to improve what was described often by informants as fragile town-gown relationships, several faculty and administrators reported that the COPC made Ithaca residents even more critical of Cornell’s role in the community. An administrator assessed the COPC initiative as having both positive and negative outcomes. He said, “Unfortunately there’s a whole lot of good things and bad things that have been happening--a lot of misinformation and so forth. Civic engagement for the larger community may mean nothing until we have our act together and define what we mean by that.”

One administrator characterized Cornell’s general relationship with the community in the following way:

Well...right now, actually, I think we have a better relationship with the community than we’ve had in a long time. Some of that’s just the political environment and the previous city administration--we had a pretty contentious relationship.... But there are issues about financial commitments. We pay a pretty hefty sum in lieu of taxes that we choose to pay--voluntary contributions. The city doesn’t believe that’s enough, although that’s been escalating steadily.... And from a development perspective, this community happens to be in a fairly anti-development mode--that’s not new; actually it’s been quite a while. And yet now Cornell is going through a growth spurt again. So there is some frustration that we have a big enough engine that we will eventually approve what we want to get approved. It may take us longer, but ultimately we’ll get it approved, and we’ll get the North Campus residential initiative approved, but Wal-Mart can’t get approved and Southwest Park can’t get approved, so you get people who are frustrated saying so what is it about this [University] up on the hill that always ends up getting the answer ‘yes,’ and the poor little business person downtown can’t move ahead. And some of that’s real.

The university-community relationship took place in a unique context of a University town located in a rural part of Upstate New York. The size of Cornell in comparison with its small, rural community helped create an imbalance of power between the University and the community. This imbalance was visible in terms of debates about contributing to the tax base of the city and receiving approval for new developments. In the context of the economic problems in Upstate New York, the community often criticized

Cornell for not being involved more directly in community problem solving. When asked how vocal the local community was about the COPC grant, one administrator said:

Ithaca is the most vocal community in America. Everyone has an opinion here and makes sure that everyone knows it. It's very vulgar. That, I think, is what makes this community very unique. The second is that, especially, in the human service community, it's a highly educated community. Many of them are associated with Cornell University with diplomas from Cornell.... So, they're pretty vocal. They are a very strong voice. And you have to balance it.... There are communities that are suffering, that have been left behind. That is the real issue. Until we are engaged in--and being part of the solution and not part of the problem--then we won't be able to be credible in the city. And I think we have an opportunity to do that.... It's not about Cornell not paying taxes. It's more about the role that Cornell would play in the design/development and promotion of our community...but part of the discussion of civic engagement is how do we want to take that situation of power and balance and turn it around into a positive, mutually beneficial relationship.

A faculty member described how the partnership was problematic in terms of community capacity, training volunteers, and communicating about the community's needs:

And that COPC grant has actually been quite interesting because it actually got quite a bit of visibility in the community--[the community was] saying, 'so what about us in this whole thing?' It was sort of a classic, a half-million dollars is a lot of money. Well, the direct infusion of dollars in the community is not a huge amount.... And so what happens is the community--which is a very small community--the City of Ithaca is only 28,000 [people]. Tompkins County maybe 70,000. Their infrastructure is not real great, so when all of the sudden Ithaca School district gets these people knocking on their door, they're not particularly welcome, there's an activity center, which is a really wonderful community agency--they can only absorb so much. So, that's a real issue for us. And there will be other community agencies who will say, Cornell is so big and so complex and so on the hill, that I don't even know who to call to ask them for help. Do I call the Office of Community Relations, do I call the Public Service Center, do I call Cornell University Cooperative Extension Office in Tompkins County? Is there any hope that if I call one, they're going to talk to the other two? No. So, that was kind of what came out of the discussion.... And [the former Provost had] a real interest in--you know he would love every Cornell student before he or she graduates to be involved in the community. I happen to share that philosophy. I'm not sure the community can handle 20,000 students as reading tutors. Particularly if 13,000 of whom are undergraduates who aren't particularly well-trained in any of this stuff. And I think [he] kind

of looked at me sometimes and said, 'why are you dragging your feet?' And I'm saying, 'you can't just send 3000 freshmen do-gooders, you know, off to Ithaca High School...and pair them up with every student and say read to them. It just doesn't work that way.' Oh, by the way, when it's exam time, they see our students disappear. And we have a lot to do internally about our training and...listening to the community about what they want. We might want to have all 13,000 of our students engaged in the community, but I'm not sure the community wants all 13,000 of them there. I think that's where we really have to develop a better mechanism to really hear what are the community issues and then say, 'okay, how can we put our resources together to be partners with you?'

This example reflected the criticisms that were raised in the accreditation report about lack of coordination and information about Cornell's community service activities. Faculty also raised the criticism about community capacity to absorb engagement efforts from Cornell when they discussed other initiatives and programs. The COPC grant seemed to have made this issue more public.

Another faculty member characterized the problem as a political and community relations one in that negative town-gown relationships existed before the COPC grant was funded. The effects were cumulative as the imbalance of power between Cornell and the community played out regularly over time. According to this faculty member, the administration approached the COPC project in a one-sided manner without truly engaging the community as a partner:

The University did a very good job bringing people together to determine the basic thrust of the COPC proposal. Unfortunately, the grant was submitted to HUD during a hotly contested mayoral election. A challenger to the sitting mayor criticized the incumbent for not pressing Cornell to do more for the community. The incumbent responded by hyping the amount of in-kind contribution that Cornell had promised to deliver on the COPC grant. The Cornell President was also drawn into this town/gown debate when he wrote an editorial highlighting the volunteer projects undertaken by Cornell undergraduates. This editorial focused on the extra-curricular volunteer projects carried out by students without addressing the University's institutional responsibilities as a corporate citizen of Ithaca. This debate focused an enormous amount of attention on the COPC program, which was, in fact, funded by HUD. It created a highly politicized environment, which made it difficult for the project faculty to engage local residents in a real discourse regarding what should be accomplished through the grant. As a result of these and other problems, the project has had a difficult time getting off the ground. Many resident leaders and municipal staff hope the project will quietly

fade away when its funding runs out. Others view the COPC project as another missed opportunity for Cornell to strengthen its local community ties.

The timing of the COPC grant had important implications for the broader Civic Engagement Initiative on campus. Another faculty member added that how the University dealt with the COPC grant was indicative of its ability to pursue a civic engagement agenda:

I don't know....they got this COPC grant last year and nobody knows what to do with that. How the heck are they going to start with civic engagement if they can't even deal with this COPC grant?--it's amazing. There's a lot of real pretty verbage around it. Do they mean being a good citizen, a good community partner? I don't know.

The COPC illustrated how complex civic engagement could be since it involved constituents both on campus and in the community. Often times these different constituents were at odds with one another in terms of their objectives and strategies, and issues often went unresolved because the University failed to involve the community adequately in the planning and implementation process for engagement.

Educational Public Outreach

One of the significant issues facing Cornell over the past two years has been increasing pressure on science researchers requesting funding from government agencies such as the National Science Foundation (NSF) and NASA to develop stronger Educational Public Outreach (EPO) activities. The rationale behind EPO was one of public accountability to provide taxpayers with benefits and evidence of scientific advancements. According to several informants, Cornell reportedly had major grant proposals that were not funded because of inadequate proposals for public outreach. The EPO issue was inter-related with many of the other initiatives and events described earlier. One administrator described how the EPO issue was an impetus for the land grant mission review:

Well...if you back [the Provost] up to the very beginning and say, you know, what really sparked this interest in getting somebody in for K-12 outreach, and specifically science outreach [in the land grant mission review]?... And her immediate response and it's much broader and more complex than this, but one very large reason is that we have faculty on campus who are applying to NSF and also NASA and also NIH, but primarily NSF for research funds, and they are told that they have to do an EPO, you know, Education Public Outreach component, and they forget

about it or they don't think it's important so sometimes they get turned down, and sometimes they show up in [the Vice Provost's] lap on the seventh day saying, 'oh, it's due tomorrow--what do I do?'

A faculty member confirmed the relationship between the two:

...the other [land grant mission review panel] deals with K-12 education, which many folks sort of cynically believe is there because Cornell has encountered some difficulties in renewing their NSF grants because they fail to really do the Public Science Education and so now, we've gotten religion around K-12 Science and Math Education.

While outreach was a central part of what some researchers in the University did, other faculty perceived it to be marginal to their scholarship enterprise. According to one administrator:

I know a lot of people who are very cynical about NSF's Criterion 2. And a lot of people who say, for a variety of reasons, maybe it's the time crunch, maybe it's that they feel that education is important but really not their strength, you know, whatever it might be, there are a lot of people who say this is ridiculous. And the faster I can pawn my EPO off onto somebody else, the better. I think there are also a lot of people who feel that it's kind of nice that NSF is doing that because it's providing a major educational infrastructure in the country.... And even if they themselves feel that it's a little bit of a burden, they're willing to work it to try and develop it....

The administration was still assessing and formulating strategies for how to assist researchers better in meeting their EPO criteria at the time of this study. These efforts were critical to the University given its research mission and reliance on federal funds for research. Cornell had three NSF-funded Centers: the Center for Materials Research (CMR); the Nano Bio Technology Center (NBTC); and the Center for Nano Fabrication (CNF). According to this administrator, "each of those, because they are Centers, has a big chunk of money that is dedicated to outreach" and their outreach efforts appeared to be fairly organized. The administrator cited above believed that the University needed to centralize outreach efforts so that researchers know what activities are already occurring. Doing so would help researchers avoid duplicating outreach efforts and would identify units researchers could connect with to sub-contract their EPO if they so chose.

Snapshot of the Civic Engagement Initiative: 2002

When I returned to campus more than two years after the initiative had begun, I interviewed many of the same faculty that I did in 2000 to assess what progress, if any, had been made in increasing civic engagement at Cornell. The administrators were mostly lukewarm in their assessment of progress. According to one administrator, “Well, I think they have certainly moved ahead. I don’t know that you will see an institutional transformation.”

Across the board, faculty members I interviewed were disappointed by the lack of progress that had been made and were concerned that institutional priorities did not include public service or civic engagement. When I asked what the major successes and disappointments had been since 2000, one faculty member reported that the civic engagement efforts had “been euthanized.” Another said, “...it’s hard to identify too many successes.”

Perceived Successes of the Civic Engagement Initiative

Other than the sponsorship of the New York Campus Compact and the development of individual efforts such as service-learning courses, most of the reported “successes” in civic engagement efforts were the result of new alumni-funded initiatives. For example, the new Bartels Undergraduate Action Research Program, funded for three years by alumnus Henry Bartels, provided fellowships for approximately 10 students per year to create community partnerships to engage in participatory action research. In addition, the Kaplan Fellowships, funded by a Cornell alumni family, provided \$5000 awards annually to two faculty members engaged in service-learning research or teaching projects that addressed important community issues. The Kaplan Program also provided funding for a lecture series on service-learning.

One faculty member described how alumni donations were important for the larger civic engagement movement at Cornell; however, they were often developed in ways that had limited impact on the University and the community:

A number of families came to the campus...and wanted to really support public service, and as each of them came, there appeared to be an effort by Alumni Affairs & Development to show them every project on the campus related to the priorities...genomics, athletic facilities and residential colleges.... And only if [the donors are] insistent, does any money end up getting directed to these public service things. Now, in three cases...one

was a \$1 million grant, two of them are \$500,000 grants, there are now three public service lecture series at the PSC, which is not getting any money out of these things but have to put them on, and there have to be faculty committees to select the national speaker, and then we have to put bodies in the seats so we have to give extra credit for the students to go to these lectures so that the donors, when they come up, can feel like they're really doing something.... And so that sort of appears to be a very consistent outcome of the Alumni Affairs & Development Office's work with donors who insist on doing public service.

Another potential success identified by faculty was the Cornell Urban Scholars Program (CUSP), which was started in 2002 with a \$100,000 donation. According to its web site, "The CUSP is an exciting new undergraduate internship program that offers sophomores and juniors the opportunity to work with the most innovative non-profit organizations and municipal government agencies serving low-income children, families, and neighborhoods in New York City" (www.cusp.cornell.edu). One of the Program's goals was to provide direct service to these non-profit organizations and create policy change in the community. Students selected to participate in CUSP took a pre-field preparation course, worked in a paid internship, attended a weekly reflective seminar, and had an opportunity to take a fall policy seminar, which allowed students to take their internship experience and turn it into a publishable article. According to one of the faculty members involved with the Program, the process to start the Program was labor intensive and full of administrative barriers. "...It's been so labor intensive dealing with this structure, which is a very top down corporate structure that, you know, it's taken all of the joy out of doing what is an exciting program for the faculty." The faculty member added, "We're really pretty reluctant to even think about doing it next year even though...we had 100 applicants for 20 slots..." Although these new programs demonstrated increased commitment to civic engagement, faculty were skeptical about their ability to sustain the programs.

Perceived Disappointments of the Civic Engagement Initiative

Faculty members talked at length about the perceived disappointments related to civic engagement efforts since 2000, particularly the failure to make civic engagement an institutional priority and a failure to reinvigorate the Public Service Center as a way to coordinate and push civic engagement activities to the institutional level. One of the faculty members hired specifically to help strengthen engagement on campus said that his

position, "...bears little resemblance to the way the position was described when I first came on, which was going to be half research and teaching across these three units to try to develop common research programs and courses." He reported that the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences had lost interest in supporting the position since they felt they already do too much public service and scholarship. The unit within the College of Human Ecology, which originally supported the position, had been reorganized and as faculty who did applied community-based research retired, they were replaced by more traditional faculty. In addition, CHE was facing a grim budget situation and the Dean was focusing attention on facilities since one of their buildings was deemed structurally unsound. While the School of Architecture was still interested in the position, they had turned their priorities toward raising money for a new building and the City and Regional Planning was reassessing the future direction of the department; therefore, faculty and administrators there had not devoted much time to building the public service infrastructure. When asked about support for the position, this faculty member replied, "You know, the only other place it could come from was if the Provost's Office decided to actually contribute to my position because of some new commitment to public service, and that is clearly not in the works with this Provost."

Campus Compact's Ivy Plus Meeting at Whispering Pines

In 2000, faculty and administrators discussed including public service and civic engagement as one of the University's major strategic priorities in its strategic plan. Doing so would have brought resources and access to major fundraisers in the University. A key event in making public service and engagement an institutional priority occurred when the Special Assistant to the President invited a group of senior faculty and administrators to go to Campus Compact's Ivy Plus Meeting in Summer 2000 to further the civic engagement agenda. The purpose of the Ivy Plus Meeting was to bring together presidents, administrators and faculty from Ivy League institutions to talk about how to advance civic engagement in their institutions. A faculty member reported that as a result of the meeting, prospects for establishing engagement as a priority were strong because of the group's plan:

...which appeared to be clearly supported by a President whose public speeches largely revolved around redefining the University's social compact with the State and its residents based upon its land grant mission.

That was good, and then [the former Provost's] apparent commitment with all of these decisions. So, it looked pretty good. It was pretty exciting.... We had the number one senior administrator who had historically been interested in public service...and then the most powerful dean went.... We came back with the skeletal outline for really pushing this agenda, which we basically felt, we were being invited by the President's Office....

The idea, according to this faculty member, was to develop a plan for "moving Cornell from the middle of the ranks to the front of the ranks in terms of engaged scholarship." After the Ivy Plus Meeting, faculty from across the campus came to a meeting to discuss an outline (referred to as the Whispering Pines document) to develop public service as part of the University's strategy. He reported that faculty were enthusiastic about the potential of the plan but skeptical that the administration would commit to it since the proposal talked about a commitment to civic engagement throughout all functions of the University. He specified that:

This was not a proposal to enhance the extracurricular student volunteerism as service--you know, men and women from Cornell in white gloves going down and helping the great, unwashed masses. This is not a charity schtick. This was about a land grant university responding to the pull of a public university to address the thorniest, messiest, most contentious social problems confronting the state and the nation. As Franklin and Jefferson suggested, great American Universities...that we're not committed to merely training the elites for the ministry, banking and the clergy but that we were creating a new kind of American University as [Ernest] Boyer talked about, to prepare the nation for democracy and community building.

As of 2002, public service and civic engagement had not been named explicitly as institutional priorities in Cornell's Strategic Agenda as those who had developed the proposal had hoped. When faculty I interviewed talked about what they thought the institutional priorities were, they said the University was focused on raising funds that would be directed towards improving the life sciences, particularly a genomics research initiative. Other priorities included improving the social sciences, and developing Cornell's relationship with New York State and the State University of New York (SUNY), which was driven largely by the land grant mission review. Many faculty saw the land grant mission review related clearly to civic engagement but having little impact on its

spread at Cornell, as was discussed earlier. According to the Provost's report, "Shaping the Academic Future," Cornell's institutional priorities were to:

- Improve undergraduate education, taking full advantage of the strengths of a research university
- Invigorate strategic enabling areas in the sciences, increasing cross-college collaboration.
- Highlight and enhance the humanities and social sciences.
- Continue to improve faculty and staff compensation.
- Build greater diversity among faculty, staff and students.
- Fortify long-term relationships with New York State and SUNY.
- Maintain broad student access to a Cornell education.
- Increase information technological capabilities for faculty, students and staff.
- Maintain Cornell's quality by encouraging sound resource management and carefully planned improvements (2002, p. 1).

The faculty involved in this Whispering Pines Initiatives reported that the administration had given them positive signs about making public service an institutional priority. However, this optimism was short-lived as the administration recommended essentially maintaining the status quo with regard to institutional and financial commitments to civic engagement at Cornell. One faculty member described the administration's response to the Whispering Pines plan for civic engagement at Cornell:

So, it looked pretty good. It was pretty exciting. We came back [from the Ivy Plus Meeting and invited] 65 faculty from across the campus to a first meeting to discuss the outline. Lots of enthusiasm tempered by skepticism that the administration would ever actually endorse this. Then [we] were basically told by the administration that it was not going to be one of the University's strategic objectives and, therefore, it wasn't going to have access to significant funds and that any thoughts that that we had--which were assumptions which they helped create--that there would be new resources for this at a significant level not unlike maybe what had been done at Penn or Brown or Michigan or Yale or Stanford or Wisconsin or even the University of Southern Florida--that was not a realistic expectation and that we should rewrite the document, basically arguing that we had already chosen the right fork in the road, that we are doing lots of things and that what we really needed was a little bit of money here and there to polish up the already bright apple.

He emphasized the significant resources that were being allocated to the life sciences and added, "I've never heard in my lifetime, any initiative at a university that was going to require 100 new faculty lines. I think that's probably more science people power than

Oppenheimer probably initially pulled together for the Manhattan Project.” This allocation signified that the most important priorities for the University were around basic research.

A nother faculty member described how he felt that the faculty members developing the engagement agenda were misled by the administration:

It’s been euthanized. I mean, plain and simple. I think, [regarding] the Whispering Pines initiative...they were led down the primrose path. We’ve had a number of meetings afterwards to talk with the group about what they went through. I think they all agree now that they were led down the primrose path by [the administration, one of whom is], you know, a vowed opponent of all of this kind of work but [the administration] claims to be interested in everything. They were told they could expect...to be placed on a high priority with the Board of Trustees and maybe a [multi] million dollar endowment for the Public Service Center and they wrote up all of this stuff happily and had a bunch of meetings and spent a lot of time on it, and then the Board met and they got a phone call saying, ‘no, we decided not to fund this activity--bye!’

Several faculty members cited the administration as a potential barrier to moving this initiative along. In terms of support for the Whispering Pines proposal, one faculty member said that the Provost “didn’t quite understand this--didn’t see where it was in her short range plan.” Other informants felt that the Provost did not know much about civic engagement but was making efforts to learn more about it. One administrator described the Provost’s understanding of civic engagement:

Conceptually, I’d say [the Provost’s understanding is] pretty strong. I mean, she’s quite interested, for example, in the K-12 Education Initiative. I think she still doesn’t... get the, sort of, service-learning view of the world. I think, you know, she sees it still as a kind of volunteerism, ‘that’s a good thing, we ought to make that happen but we’re not going to spend a lot of money to encourage that,’ and then she’s quite enamored with what’s going in many of our Science areas in terms of their connection with the schools that comes out because of all the external funding. What’s missing is, I think, a full understanding that particularly, and even with the Science faculty, that you know, we need to be in partnership with the community.

While this administrator saw the Provost’s definition of civic engagement along the lines of a student volunteerism model, another faculty member thought that the Provost wanted civic engagement to support the primary goal of a research university:

This meeting that they had at Whispering Pines and a document that they produced out of that--[the Provost] came to this meeting. We had like 30

faculty to give feedback on this initial proposal. I remember clearly what she said at the beginning of that meeting. She said, 'everybody is for democracy. Who could be against that? What I want to know is, where is the scholarship going?' It's very clear what her self interest is.... All of this stuff we are talking [about] had better have something to do with what a top-notch research university ought to be doing.

Another faculty member described how he thought the President conceived of civic engagement mainly along a student volunteerism model as well:

I mean, [the President's] own public statements about civic engagement really strike back to the 1960's student volunteerism.... It's not about this being a critical element of an engaged research university in a core way of strengthening undergraduate education. This is something that, since we're privileged we should go down and contribute to the communities nearby that are less privileged. It's really, sort of, a 19th Century Victorian [perspective].... I think it's really student volunteerism, extra curricular and I think many university presidents and faculty have this same view.

Although civic engagement at Cornell encompassed a broad range of activities, from volunteerism to community-based research, several informants believed that the administration valued some forms of engagement over others and that those preferences were context-specific. An administrator had the following to say about the President's perspective on experiential learning and civic engagement:

And so this is rising in what is going to be on his agenda for the next 5 years, and he doesn't quite know what that means yet. I don't think that we institutionally know what that means yet.... Well, I think he is frankly more responsive to experiential education in the context of it being service-based than just experiential education. That's my own take--I might be completely off base. And he certainly is respectful of the experiential education that exists here because of our pre-professional programs. You see that in Architecture, Hotel, or the Engineering Co-op. But I don't think he comes to that himself naturally. He's just a classicist, he has a very traditional inclination to what the educational experience is. He is not against it. And I don't think he devalues it, I don't think that he's particularly experienced himself with it and don't think he's thought a lot about it as a pedagogy and as a strategic direction for the institution.

When asked how committed the administration was to pushing a civic engagement agenda one faculty member believed that the challenge with committing to engagement in a land grant research university was that it was difficult to maintain high academic status with peer institutions and engage in what was often perceived of as activities marginal to a research institution. He said:

I wish I had a good way to describe this. It's a paradox. It's both committed and uncommitted. Cornell, like Stanford, is in the academic prestige game. Bottom line--that's the game. They want the best faculty in the world, the best students in the world, the most money in the world. And that means you make choices sometimes. At the same time---and that's their first priority---that usually leaves out things like civic engagement. It doesn't have to. It's not completely incompatible with it. That's not the core of academic status. At least now. So, at the same time, I think the University, the President and the Provost believe in that. They understand that we have a mission to apply knowledge in society, to be engaged with society. We're not Princeton. We're not Harvard either--we're not Yale. And a lot of people are unhappy about that because I think that we do have this sort of structural mission that says there's a relationship between this university and its community that is important. But at the same time I think we pick presidents here who are basically Ivy League-type folks and they're competing with Stanford and Chicago and Yale and Princeton and Harvard and so on.

As discussions about the Whispering Pines proposal took place, it became clear to many that civic engagement would be more difficult to diffuse in some parts of the University than in others. When asked about why he attended the Ivy Plus Meeting, one of the administrators responded:

I guess it was that [an administrator] told me that [my college] had to be represented there. It was just something I better do. And though I didn't consider it a waste of my time, it didn't do anything, I think, for [my college], for what I do here [as administrator]...uh...it was definitely a worthwhile horizon in thinking about various educational issues, and [I] know that I'm happy that I went.... It's not something, I think, I could get very far with in this College right now but that time may come. Right now we have other things that we have to deal with. And, you know, there's a very powerful view in this College to think that's it's really the other Colleges' responsibility.

When asked whether or not the President and Provost sent him messages about increasing civic engagement in his College, he replied:

In the abstract, yes, but in the concrete, I would say, the President and the Provost both understand the Arts & Sciences point of view and would be inclined to align themselves with it if you pointed a gun at their head and made them choose. So, they understand the culture and the limitations.

The debate about who was responsible for civic engagement in a "private university with a public mission" also occurred within the context of the land grant mission review described earlier.

Given how the civic engagement initiative evolved over the past two years, one faculty member described the dampened outlook for moving the initiative forward as follows:

Well, [the administrators] were just saying that [the Whispering Pines proposal] complicated the fact that there were cuts in the statutory budgets, that this made it difficult to think about, perhaps a broader agenda. They were not hopeless. They thought that in the short run, that we could do some things...at the several hundred thousands of dollars level. And, you know, to be perfectly honest, I left the meeting saying that one's best investment of time and energy would be in your own department and college because it was clear that we weren't going to get much help or support from the central administration. And that has been largely verified.

The faculty members involved with this proposal seemed dejected and demoralized. While they continued to seek ways to push the engagement agenda on an institutional level, many were choosing to focus their energies on immediate activities within their control.

Faculty felt that the former Provost had been interested in promoting civic engagement and actually initiated the appointment of the Special Assistant to the President in charge of community outreach. Although faculty reported having to lobby and educate the former Provost for several years, they felt that he was responsive and wanted to move forward with the initiative. Faculty were somewhat unsure about the current Provost's level of support and understanding of the initiative. She was described in some ways as being interested and wanting to learn, but others saw her interest as being limited and shaped by the priorities of the institution such as research in the sciences. Although the President was supportive of civic engagement publicly, informants were unsure about the extent to which he would support efforts beyond student volunteerism, such as service-learning and participatory action research, which would lead to long-term community partnerships. As this President steps down and the new President comes on board in 2003, it is unclear what his commitment to civic engagement will be. Faculty pointed out that the institutional commitment is dependent on the leaders of the University.

Faculty Perceptions About the Civic Engagement Initiative

Since the start of the Civic Engagement Initiative, many faculty members were cynical about the meaning of and substance behind what the administration meant when it called for "civic engagement." A few felt that the administration was sincere in its

commitment to civic engagement and acknowledged the institutional and community relations barriers that impeded those efforts. Most, however, questioned the administration's commitment to civic engagement or their ability to create an action plan, including this faculty member:

There's an awful lot of lip service about it. It's interesting that it comes in the wake of their shutting down the Community Outreach Office. So there was a retired faculty member...who was volunteering her time in retirement to run the COO..... So that was just eliminated. She was quite upset. And so we eliminated that and...two years later...we're going to create this whole thing in civic engagement. So, I don't know....I don't want to be a pooh-pooher. I have no idea [why it's coming up now]. I mean you watch these things--every 10 years there's some new thing.... Because I don't see in it anywhere a plan for recognizing and rewarding faculty who are truly doing the civic engagement in their teaching---that's not where the emphasis is here. But until the tenure and promotion process has a component that talks about civic engagement and service-learning and experiential learning--forget about it.

In general, faculty said that being engaged in activities such as service-learning would not be detrimental necessarily to a junior faculty member's tenure prospects. Most acknowledged that service-learning was a time and labor-intensive activity for faculty; however, it wouldn't detract from chances for tenure as long as the faculty member still produced high caliber scholarship. Scholarship, in this case, was defined strictly as traditional research. Cornell had not yet embraced a broadened view of scholarship that was becoming popular on some campuses, which redefined scholarship to include activities such as teaching and engagement²².

Another faculty member described the inherent difficulty involved with defining civic engagement and how critical funding would be to move the initiative along:

...the question about what they really mean is ambiguous in the sense that they know what they're talking *about*--they're talking about lots of good things about universities serving communities, and the students learning to be citizens and having character development and all of those good things. Whether they mean it in the sense of being committed to making it happen, we just don't know yet. And we have a big opportunity with the opening of the [Director position for the] Public Service Center. I don't know enough about [the appointment of the] Special Assistant to the President for community development--I don't know enough about what

²² See Boyer, Ernest (1990). *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate*, Princeton, NJ: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

she really has in mind, in part because I don't know what kind of portfolio she has--if she has funding. It does seem that it is happening all over the country, so it should be fundable, it should be possible to find resources for this.

Others felt that the movement was long overdue but had concerns about how resources for it would be allocated. When asked about the Civic Engagement Initiative, one administrator in Cooperative Extension said her response to the central administration was:

What took you so long? I've been pressing that from the moment that I took this job. I have been pressing faculty groups to discuss that, to think about. I think there are a number of people who are probably pretty sick of hearing me talk about this whole notion of the Engaging University.... Well, the big fear and the groups that I work with would tend to be like the Chairs and what we would call the Departmental Extension Leaders. Their concern is that this conversation around engagement means, let's take the amount of money that we now get for Extension, that comes to the two colleges and let's carve it into smaller pieces and give some to the ILR and give some to the departments over in the Arts and Sciences, let's give some to the Vet School, the Med School, the Engineering College, etc. And, you know, we're going to have less for us. That's one of the big issues here is that we're not talking about making a big pie, and all of the conversations that I have seen nationally around the Engaged University...uh...there's not necessarily the assumption of a growing pie. And as I've talked to some of my colleagues at other universities, what they are indeed seeing is a redistribution.

Faculty also referenced frequently the schisms between the endowed and statutory sides of the University. One faculty member related those distinct cultures to town/gown relationships:

Day Hall²³ knows how we're being perceived by the neighbors...and they know they have a PR problem and they want to deal with it not only as a problem but, I think, there's also an understanding that it's time to be a more responsive and responsible neighbor and so, I think, they really are looking for ways to connect. The cynics will probably tell you that this is smoke and mirrors.... I really think that our senior administrators in Day Hall want to see Cornell make a difference in the community. I believe that President Rawlings does have a vision for that. He also has a culture to deal with and that culture is one that has not historically rewarded that kind of engagement. So, the problem we have here at Cornell is, we have two cultures. We have the land grant culture and we have the culture of the elite university and they pull us in two very different directions.

²³ The President, Provost, and other senior administrators have their offices in Day Hall.

Many faculty and administrators agreed that the administration felt pressure to respond to calls for civic engagement and made commitments publicly to finding ways to increase engagement. Cornell continued to face a complex set of challenges both internally and externally as it explored its level of commitment to civic engagement and created strategies for engagement.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this chapter was to describe the history of experiential learning at Cornell and the various forms it adopted and purposes it served. The legitimacy of experiential learning at Cornell had a varied history, given that some programs were institutionalized and received strong support while others were contested and met their eventual demise. As the land grant institution for New York, Cornell boasted a rich history and long list of accomplishments with regard to outreach to the community; however, this outreach remained largely in the province of statutory colleges, despite the fact that the land grant mission was university-wide. The University's prioritization of research limited the extent to which civic engagement was considered an institutional priority. Cornell's varied history with experiential learning was influenced by the extent to which organizational members agreed on who had jurisdiction over experiential learning and for what purposes; the level of administrative support and leadership for initiatives; resource allocation; pressures from the external environment and linkages with the experiential learning field. These dynamics are analyzed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4

EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY

CASE STUDY OVERVIEW

This case study describes the diverse terrain of experiential learning at Stanford University between 1969-2002. Since an inclusive description of all experiential learning activities at Stanford during this time period is beyond the scope of this study, the case study attends to the major efforts that were intended to diffuse university-wide. The case study begins with a description of perhaps the most widely contested initiatives at Stanford, the Extradepartmental Programs (EDPs) at Stanford. The Stanford Workshops on Social and Political Issues (SWOPSI) was founded in 1969 during a period of student and political unrest. This student-initiated, action-oriented program provided an *alternative* to departmental education, often using students and community members to teach courses. The Student Center for Innovation in Research and Education (SCIRE) was founded in 1969 to accredit student-initiated projects and internships. While not an EDP, the Action Research Liaison Office (ARLO) was related to SCIRE and SWOPSI in concept and philosophy. ARLO coordinated action research opportunities for students who would receive credit for their projects through regular departmental channels. Throughout their histories, SWOPSI and SCIRE were controversial and debated widely among administrators, students and faculty. In a reorganization of the EDPs, SCIRE and ARLO were eliminated in 1985 and SWOPSI was absorbed into a new centralized unit, only to be eliminated in 1991 during budget cuts.

Undergraduate Research Programs (URP) hosted a wide range of programs that provided opportunities and funding to students, faculty and departments to engage undergraduates in more research with faculty. These programs grew from a relatively small Undergraduate Research Opportunities (URO) Program founded in 1974, which was expanded in 1984 with an infusion of resources. The URPs are supported and well-regarded within the University.

The Haas Center for Public Service has become known nationally as one of the best public service centers in the country. Initiated by President Kennedy in 1984, the Center was institutionalized on campus, but continued to be challenged by institutionalizing

service-learning on a broader scale. The Haas Center underwent several notable shifts in substance and symbol from “public service” to “service-study connections” to “service-learning to “public service education.” The Center was successful in securing funding from donors, foundations, the government, and now the University, given its inclusion in the 2000 Capital Campaign for Undergraduate Education. The Stanford in Washington Program, often considered the “crown jewel” of Stanford, is described in this section as well.

The Human Biology Program, Public Policy Program, and Urban Studies Program are all Interdisciplinary Programs (IDPs) at Stanford with a heavy emphasis on experiential learning. The IDPs have struggled at Stanford for academic legitimacy as some faculty have resisted interdisciplinary work. These Programs have been able to support experiential learning largely with the support of the Haas Center.

The case study begins with a brief overview of the founding and history of Stanford University to provide a context in which to understand the dynamics around the spread and legitimacy of experiential learning that unfold in the case study. The strong public service and entrepreneurial legacy established by Jane and Leland Stanford provide the backdrop for understanding these dynamics.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY

In 1891 Jane and Leland Stanford founded Stanford University on the grounds of their Palo Alto farm in memory of their son, Leland Stanford, Jr. Leland Stanford, a wealthy industrialist and politician, was distraught after the untimely death of his 15 year old son in 1884 from typhoid fever. Given the loss of their son, Stanford decided that “the children of California shall be our children” and together with his wife decided to use their wealth to found a university on the San Francisco peninsula (www.stanford.edu/home/stanford/history/begin.html).

The Stanfords spent considerable time visiting and meeting with the presidents of Cornell, Yale, Harvard and MIT to decide what type of educational institution to create. Although the Stanfords drew on the models of these esteemed east coast universities, their university was nontraditional from the outset. In particular it was co-educational, non-denominational, and practically-oriented, which stood in contrast to the cultural education that was the focus of most other major universities.

Cornell University’s president and land grant mission had a strong impact on Stanford University’s mission and its focus on practical education and creating “useful citizens.” The Stanfords tried to recruit President Andrew D. White from Cornell to serve as Stanford’s first president. He declined the offer and recommended a former student of his, David Starr Jordan, who was serving as president of University of Indiana at that time. Jordan agreed to serve as Stanford’s first president and remained in that position for 22 years. To illustrate further the relationship between these two universities, almost half of the 15 original faculty that were appointed when the University opened were recruited from Cornell (www.stanford.edu/home/stanford/history/begin.html).

The University’s Founding Grant states that the University’s objectives were:

To qualify students for personal success and direct usefulness in life; and to promote the public welfare by exercising an influence on behalf of humanity and civilization, teaching the blessings of liberty regulated by law, and inculcating love and reverence for the great principles of government as derived from the inalienable rights of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness (Founding Charter, p. 4).

Leland Stanford told students during his opening day address: "Remember that life is, above all, practical; that you are here to fit yourselves for a useful career" (www.stanford.edu/home/stanford/history/centennial.html).

Having the advancement of the public good as an explicit part of its mission made the University unique. The Stanfords felt strongly about promoting the public welfare through their university, which reflected their own active participation in public service (Dorn and Koth, 2002). Dorn and Koth (2002) argue that Stanford's public service mission has grown much more complex than was envisioned originally by the Stanfords. "What many present members of the Stanford community are doing to serve the public good differs greatly from what Jane and Leland Stanford considered, during their lives, acceptable forms of public service" (Dorn and Koth, 2002, p. 5). Over time, public service at Stanford took on meanings ranging from charity work to student activism and social justice to academic service-learning.

Stanford students and faculty were engaged in the various war efforts that took place over the past century. Students and faculty were quick to support both World Wars, often volunteering abroad. The tenor of their public service changed, however, with the onset of the Vietnam War. Activist students and sympathetic faculty were involved with war resistance efforts. Students protested not only the United States' involvement with the war, but Stanford's policies supporting the war such as its engagement in military research projects. Students were also active in demanding greater diversity on campus, which led to an aggressive effort on the part of President Lyman to diversify the campus during the late 1960s and early 1970s (Dorn and Koth, 2002). While students of color comprised only 11.7% of the student body in 1972, they represented 44% of the student body population by 2000 (Dorn and Koth, 2002).

During the 1950s, Stanford had transformed into an increasingly prominent research institution. Between 1950 and 1961, Stanford's federal contracts and grants had increased from almost \$1,400,000 to over \$19,000,000 (Waring, 1995). During this time the University also launched a major capital campaign that allowed the campus to add 30 new buildings and almost double its faculty. Stanford's prominence in research, entrepreneurial spirit, and aggressive fundraising campaigns helped secure its reputation as one of the premiere research universities in the world (Waring, 1995).

Despite its prioritization of research, Stanford was still regarded as a leader in public service among higher education institutions. For example, Stanford had more students participating in the Peace Corps than any other college or university in the country during 1966 (Biu, 1994). The creation of the Haas Center was central to this claim as a public service leader; however, Stanford's long history with public service set the foundation that allowed the Haas Center to become part of the University's 2000 Campaign for Undergraduate Education.

EXTRADEPARTMENTAL EDUCATION AT STANFORD

'If efficiency, conformity and order are preferred to responsiveness, variety and flexibility, then bureaucracy is inevitable. If bureaucracy is unavoidable, then SWOPSI has been reformed by the University rather than the University being reformed by SWOPSI' ("The Heart of the Matter", 1975).

From the period of 1964 to 1969, a number of student-initiated, credit-granting programs were developed outside of the regular departmental structure at Stanford. Experiential learning was central to two of these Extradepartmental Programs (EDPs): the Student Center for Innovation in Research and Education (SCIRE) and the Stanford Workshops on Political and Social Issues (SWOPSI). SCIRE, which existed from 1969 until 1985, accredited student projects and community internships and oversaw an innovation fund. SWOPSI, which existed from 1969 until 1991, offered credit-bearing, student-initiated workshops on current social and political issues. These courses, which were taught typically by non-traditional instructors, engaged students in "action projects" that were focused on problem-solving social and political issues.

SWOPSI and SCIRE¹ were significant to this study because of the long-term debate between the administration and those affiliated with the Programs over whether the Programs should have remained autonomous or been brought into the core of the institution. The academic legitimacy of these Programs was contested also throughout the entire course of their histories. While the two programs are introduced separately in the following sections, parts of their histories are combined given the close relationship that they shared structurally and philosophically. Their histories are also related closely since SWOPSI originated as a SCIRE project.

Student Center for Innovation in Research and Education (SCIRE)

SCIRE was created in 1969 by a group of students who wanted to broaden and take more responsibility for their own education through student-initiated projects and internships. The goal of SCIRE:

...in terms of experiential learning, was to provide links to community organizations, match students with a project and faculty sponsor, work with and strengthen departmental internship programs, and encourage

¹ The Action Research Liaison Office (ARLO), while not technically an EDP, was often seen as related to SWOPSI and SCIRE. ARLO will be described in more detail in a separate section.

other departments to develop accredited internship opportunities (confidential e-mail, July 23, 2002).

In January 1970, the SCIRE Policy Board was granted authority to award academic credit.

Until the mid-1970s, SCIRE's main activities involved:

1. approving and evaluating individual or group projects for academic credit,
2. establishing task forces "to consider internal University problems and to find educational mechanisms useful in their resolution."
3. administering an innovation fund that makes grants of "seed money" to support exciting educational projects developed by students (ODUS: A Five-Year Review, 1975, p. 71).

The defining characteristic of SCIRE was its student-centered nature that allowed students to experiment with new subjects and design their own research projects and community internship experiences. Notable projects that students created included the Program in Exotic Languages, the Undergraduate Program in the School of Education (UPSE), and the Peace Studies Program. SCIRE also funded projects such as student films. Like other EDP courses, SCIRE projects and courses required sponsorship by an Academic Council member and approval by a faculty-student policy board.

During 1975-1976, SCIRE expanded its activities with a pilot internship program to enable non-freshmen to gain credit for off-campus internships. Students were required to work between 15-25 hours in an internship. In addition, students had to take a departmental course that provided a theoretical framework related to the field setting and topics related to the field experience. During the pilot year, a group of five students did internships at the Santa Clara Valley Coalition researching flood control legislation; at UC Berkeley researching gender bias in psychotherapy, at the *Palo Alto Times*, at the Santa Clara County Commission on the Status of Women and at the County Probation Office.

A program administrator stated that these field experiences were called "community internships," since almost all of the internships were public service or non-profit placements during the early years. However, she reported that during the 1980s students began participating in private sector internships, and "the most popular internships were really stock market type. Students wanted to learn what actually does an economist do? How does the market uphold society and society uphold the market?"

SCIRE staff also sponsored a field work fair every spring where community organizations could set up tables outside of Tresidder Student Union to recruit students to complete special fieldwork projects. According to a staff member, SCIRE, along with ARLO were the primary fieldwork programs at Stanford until service-learning courses were developed through the Haas Center for Public Service in the early 1990s. In order to receive academic credit, students had to complete some type of academic project during their internships. "We tried to be as rigorous as possible in what we were really learning and how might you be applying what you learned in class to that," according to one program administrator.

When asked to distinguish between the SCIRE projects and internships, a program administrator explained that projects didn't involve field work. She provided an example of a student interested in the topic of AIDS. A project might involve a student working in a lab with a faculty member and conducting research. An internship might involve working in a health clinic doing intake evaluations, analyzing treatment statistics and so forth.

The SCIRE Task Forces were created to study and address internal University problems and find useful educational solutions. Examples included a task force on transfer students, a task force on departmental advising, and a task force on proposing a program in Feminist Studies. The SCIRE Innovation Fund provided grants to students as seed money to support projects that were designed to have a positive impact on undergraduate education. Examples of funded projects included the Peer Advising Program in Biology, a course requested by undergraduates called "Topics in Marxist Social Science," and the Volunteers in Asia Field Study Project, which was institutionalized subsequently through the Haas Center for Public Service.

Stanford Workshops on Political and Social Issues (SWOPSI)

The Founding Years: 1969-1974

SWOPSI was created by three Stanford students in the Spring of 1969, in the midst of the student unrest characteristic of that era. The founders of the Program stated SWOPSI's goals as follows:

To recognize urgent social and political problems, to evaluate proposed solutions to these problems and seek alternative solutions to consider plans for public education and constructive political action (SWOPSI Summary and Evaluation of the First Academic Quarter, 1969, p. 1).

In addition, the founders created SWOPSI because:

Students looking at the Stanford curriculum see little relation between the courses being offered and the problems of our society--urban plight and the ghetto...outrageous influence of the military...pollution and destruction of the environment.... And even where courses are directed to the study of particular problems, active engagement in possible solutions is rarely considered (SWOPSI Summary and Evaluation of the First Academic Quarter, 1969, p. 1).

SWOPSI was organized as a student-initiated and student-led educational innovation designed with an interdisciplinary, action orientation that allowed students to study current local and national issues. One of the student founders explained how SWOPSI came to be:

A group of us discovered that Stanford had a loop-hole in its rules for granting credit which said that any faculty member could offer a one-half credit course just by signing off on it. They were called faculty seminars. We discovered that we could get our friends who were concerned about American society and the war to sign off as the faculty member on a course that would largely be taught by graduate students who had the time and energy to do these sorts of things. So we recruited professors to be the guarantors on courses which would be largely taught by people who were involved in defoliants, arms control and environmental issues (Snowberg, 1999, p. 2).

The Program was designed to achieve the goals of research and action through the use of a workshop format. Workshops were taught typically by para-faculty from the community and through non-faculty Stanford community members. Student initiation and voice were important hallmarks of the Program, which, as will be described later, were sometimes threatened at different points throughout the history of SWOPSI. A report at the end of the first quarter stated how important this facet of SWOPSI was to the original goals: "If the present SWOPSI organizers cannot find students who wish to be centrally responsible for organizing SWOPSI...then the program should meet a quick and non-violent end" (SWOPSI Summary and Evaluation of the First Academic Quarter, 1969, p. 8).

SWOPSI was created during a period of political unrest and student activism. An administrator described how the political and social context outside of the University was instrumental in providing the impetus for some of the EDPs:

...part of the problem was that the faculty was kind of conservative in terms of offering new courses that dealt with the social and political

issues. So the development of...Undergraduate Specials² and SWOPSI was a way of trying to get some of that stuff into the curriculum. It was sort of going around the rigidity of the faculty.

As an example, a program administrator described how the quarter after the Watergate scandal, an EDP course on that topic was approved "as soon as the book of Watergate hearings was published."

The founders described how initially "Obtaining academic credit and funding fortunately proved rather easy" (SWOPSI Summary and Evaluation of the First Academic Quarter, 1969, p. 2). The founders arranged for academic credit through the Committee on Undergraduate Studies (C-US) under the auspices of the Undergraduate Special Program (UGS), which was also an Extradepartmental Program that made it possible to initiate courses not available through regular departmental channels. The Program received \$1200 of initial funding from a Ford Foundation grant for Innovation in Education.

Initial student response to the workshops was fairly strong. By fall of 1969, there were ten workshops in operation and at the first class meetings, most workshops had at least twenty participants and a few had fifty or more (SWOPSI Summary and Evaluation of the First Academic Quarter, 1969). Initial workshop leaders were recruited through the founders' network of friends and colleagues, largely through the Stanford Linear Accelerator (SLAC), physics, biological sciences and medicine.

Most workshops met in a seminar format for two to three hours a week. Students also worked independently or in teams on research projects. "Action" was defined as an end product that could be used to inform or influence policy and could take the form of legal, political or community action. The following is an excerpt taken from confidential notes in the SWOPSI archives (no date), which described how the University proposed to define 'action:'

The position of SWOPSI within the University is an extremely delicate one because of the inherent nature of SWOPSI's 'action orientation'.... There is a fine line, as far as the University is concerned, between preparation for action and action itself. For SWOPSI, this means that the workshops can officially do the research, field work, and publication of facts that will serve as the bases for action, but the action--whether it be

² Much like SWOPSI, the Undergraduate Special Program (UGS) was a vehicle for students to initiate courses that were not available through the regular departments. These courses were more traditional in that there was not a required action or field component.

testifying before government boards or participating in processes to correct inequities -- must be outside the official sanction of the Program.

Examples of SWOPSI workshops from the first year included a course called "The Pescadero Dam Project," which was created to criticize an Army Corps of Engineers report about the dam. The end result was an independent study of the report. Another course called "Logging Policy in California" was designed to have students prepare a detailed local logging handbook. Other course topics included disarmament negotiations, air pollution, computers and privacy, and industrialization and housing (SWOPSI Catalog, Preliminary Copy, 1969). In their reports of the first two quarters of SWOPSI offerings, the founders deemed some courses more successful than others. Success seemed to hinge on student and instructor interest and expectations, as well as course structure.

The founders concluded that after the first quarter "The SWOPSI program has not yielded as much concrete political and social action as we had hoped" (SWOPSI Summary and Evaluation of the First Academic Quarter, 1969, p. 7). They discovered the difficulty in researching and developing an action plan for a social or political issue in the short period of an academic quarter. Students sometimes had difficulty adjusting to courses that were less structured than their traditional courses. "Many undergraduates were not accustomed to the freedom and responsibility of individual research..." (p.7). The founders concluded, however, that the Program was viable and worth continuing. In particular they felt that students were gaining valuable experience learning how to conduct field work and the kind of research that was necessary to study social or political issues.

The SWOPSI staff members' evaluations of the Program dealt with more sophisticated issues after the second quarter of operation. The report written at the end of the quarter revealed concerns about what criteria should be used to designate what qualifies as a SWOPSI course. The SWOPSI staff recommended developing stricter criteria around approving only action-oriented courses, since regular courses could be funded with other resources in the University. There was also a sense that the research portion of the courses needed to be independent. For example, the report mentioned how SWOPSI had rejected a particular proposal because, "...the program had been completely determined by the local planning commission, using students' labor without allowing them a hand in the

determination of the goals or methods of the study” (SWOPSI Summary and Evaluation of Second Academic Quarter, 1970, p.12).

Although the staff members still relied heavily on their networks to recruit SWOPSI instructors and participants, they found that “the response among the social science and engineering faculties and students was especially disappointing. Faculty members were frequently too committed to their own research, and students were simply too apathetic to generate courses themselves” (SWOPSI Summary and Evaluation of Second Academic Quarter, 1970, p.11). Difficulty in recruiting Stanford faculty for courses led SWOPSI to seek instructors outside of the Stanford community. In Spring 1970, five workshops were led by non-Stanford instructors.

By Spring 1970, SWOPSI had approved 14 new courses and carried over nine from Winter Quarter. In its first three quarters, SWOPSI had enrollments of about 750 students in 48 workshops. These workshops were sponsored and led by 59 faculty and 19 graduate students (SWOPSI, 1970). In 1974, SWOPSI offered 59 courses to 685 students; and SCIRE offered 31 courses to 91 students (Stanford University News Service, 1975).

Concerns About Survival

In spring of 1970 the founders of SWOPSI were very concerned about prospects for continuing the Program the following year. In particular they were concerned about problems regarding academic credit, staffing and funding. In a memo to the Dean of the Graduate Division (1970), the founders wrote:

There are, in addition to these practical considerations, some other very strong reasons for not continuing the program in its present form. SWOPSI was designed as an experimental test of a new model for a university curriculum. It is basically an institutional innovation, a new way to structure part of Stanford’s curriculum. One of our purposes was to provide a creative outlet for student energy but an equally important purpose was to effect a lasting institutional change. The experiment has, in the main succeeded; now it is up to the University to decide if it wants to incorporate a popular, successful, relevant innovation or let it drop.... SWOPSI suffers without the University’s support. Bureaucracies aren’t very open to the needs of ‘unofficial’ organizations.... Compare SWOPSI with a department of similar size--it is painfully understaffed (p.3).

While the founders had initial financial support for SWOPSI, continuing financial support was more difficult to garner. “The last practical impediment to SWOPSI’s

continuation is the very poor outlook for funding next year. Ford will not review our grant and it seems NSF cannot fund us" (1970, p.2). The founders had awaited anxiously to hear whether or not they would receive funding from the Ford Foundation because of recent federal changes: "They at Ford are unhappily anxious that SWOPSI...may fall directly under the portions of the recent tax legislation aimed at reducing the alleged political activism of foundations" (1970, p.1). In response to this uncertainty, the administration gave SWOPSI \$3000 from the Provost's Reserves.

Structure of SWOPSI and SCIRE

In the early years of SWOPSI and SCIRE, each of the programs was administered by student directors. The structure was changed in the early 1970s to be administered by professional directors (two half-time co-directors for SWOPSI and one half-time director for SCIRE) as well as undergraduate student co-directors. Each Program was guided by a student-faculty policy board, which oversaw the Program's activities. Initially credit for SCIRE was granted through the Committee on Undergraduate Studies (C-US) through a Sub-Committee on Student Innovation, which was formed in 1969. The Sub-Committee served as SCIRE's Policy Board and accredited SWOPSI workshops too.

SWOPSI staff reported that one of the initial barriers it faced was a restructuring that occurred in 1970 when the Office of the Dean of Undergraduate Studies (ODUS) was established. This office was developed in response to the *The Study of Education at Stanford* (1968), which was an extensive review of Stanford's educational programs. One of the recommendations from that report was that undergraduate education needed strengthening, so the administration created the ODUS. Before ODUS oversaw EDPs, the C-US and the Sub-Committee on Student Innovation accredited SCIRE, while SWOPSI workshops became accredited through C-US and the Sub-Committee on Extradepartmental Programs and Interschool Majors. SWOPSI staff described these changes as follows:

In an administrative shuffle, the newly formed Committee on Undergraduate Studies³ (CUS) replaced the Committee on Undergraduate Education (CUE) as the course of credit for SWOPSI courses. In addition to functioning rather inefficiently, CUS required more detailed information concerning course proposals than did its predecessor. There were several mixups concerning the freedom of tenured faculty to teach

³ The Committee on Undergraduate Studies was a committee of the Academic Council. C-US had oversight of ODUS but the Dean reported directly to the Provost.

courses in subjects tangentially related to their field. The qualifications of leaders who were not members of the faculty were examined more closely than in previous quarters. Information was requested of several workshops--a request which indicates a misunderstanding of the way in which workshops function. Eventually, several proposals had to be rewritten, and one workshop had to be withdrawn and offered without credit.... The problems encountered with CUS have been eliminated by the association of SWOPSI with the Student Center for Innovation in Research and Education (SWOPSI Summary and Evaluation of Second Academic Quarter, 1970, p.13).

SWOPSI staff found C-US to be more bureaucratic and difficult to communicate with than its predecessor, CUE.

In fall of 1971, both SCIRE and SWOPSI "received charges as 'Special Joint Agencies' of C-US and the Dean of Undergraduate Studies.... Proposals approved in this manner were then reviewed by the C-US chairman and the Dean of Undergraduate Studies or the then Associate Dean" (Memo to Senate of the Academic Council, 1975, p. 5). In January 1973, the Senate of the Academic Council approved a change that eliminated the Special Joint Agencies under both ODUS and C-US and made ODUS responsible solely for reviewing and accrediting courses approved by the SWOPSI and SCIRE Policy Boards. This change also gave the Dean responsibility for appointing program directors and policy board members (Memo to Senate of the Academic Council, 1975). The Dean in turn made the Assistant Dean for EDPs responsible for accrediting courses proposed through EDPs.

SWOPSI's Relationship with ODUS

According to an article in *The Stanford Daily*:

Despite the success of SWOPSI's workshops during that year, [the Director's] report emphasizes the internal struggles over formalization of the program. These struggles resulted in SWOPSI's takeover by the Office of the Dean of Undergraduate Studies (ODUS). Of the characteristic phrase 'student initiated and student led since its inception,' [the Director] states bluntly, 'Unfortunately, this has become a misnomer which no longer applies to the Program.' (Swent, 1972, p. 1).

Swent added, "However, the newly-formed Office of the Dean of Undergraduate Studies...provided constant pressure on SWOPSI to, as [the Director] puts it, 'somehow fit in or conform to their administrative convenience'" (1972, p. 1). There were debates

between SWOPSI and ODUS about whether or not the Dean's Office had the power to approve or veto the choice for a new director for SWOPSI.

In a September 1972 memo to the C-US, an administrator wrote that she did not support the SCIRE Charge that the Committee had forwarded to the Senate of the Academic Council. The disagreement was based on differing views on ultimate authority for granting credit. The SCIRE Charge recommended that accrediting power be held by a group with a student majority. This administrator believed that "Maintenance of academic quality is best achieved if the faculty reserves to itself the right to review and even to veto credit recommendations of a group with a student majority" (Confidential memo, 1972, p. 1). She presented a plan that would more clearly divide responsibilities between making and carrying out policies regarding course accreditation by having C-US make policies and the ODUS carry them out. She stated, "I have proposed a longer tenure for the Programs under a stable and unambiguous arrangement which places ultimate accrediting authority with the Dean as the representative of the faculty" (Confidential Memo, 1972, p. 2).

Students were concerned about having a system of checks and balances on the power of the Dean of Undergraduate Studies; however the Dean replied that the fears were unfounded since his office had yet to overturn a credit recommendation. To respond to these concerns, however, the Dean recommended that the Policy Boards be appointed by someone else and an additional advisory committee be created to preside over any potential disputes.

The physical location of the EDPs in relationship to the ODUS added to the strained relationships. An administrator said:

In retrospect,...I realize there was a risk at the time to having them separate from the Dean's Office--and the physical separation, I think, was not a good idea because it increased their sense of isolation. And to the extent that there was ambivalence about the Dean's Office, they sort of would reinforce each other.

A program administrator added the following about the EDPs physical office locations:

....the students just used to come and hang out and do their homework or have lunch or just talk politics. It was very cool. ...when you had the SWOPSI office, people would come there to find out about courses or sign up for courses as well as to teach courses as well as to find out about the politics and what was going on.

While the spaces were conducive to student interaction, the programs were peripheral physically from the administration.

Centralization or Autonomy?: The Costs and Benefits of Marginality

Throughout the EDPs' histories, the administration often had different perspectives than the Program staff and students about the extent to which the Programs should be centralized and become mainstreamed within existing University functions. Generally the administration argued that the programs should be brought into the core and centralized; however, archival documents showed that the Programs sometimes waffled on wanting to remain independent from regular University functions. For example, one of the early SWOPSI directors wrote that: "Our basic recommendation is that SWOPSI -- as a successful, popular, and timely innovation -- should become part of the institution of Stanford University" (Confidential Memo, no date, p. 1). Furthermore, "This proposal is the logical extension of the SWOPSI Program to incorporate it into the normal academic program of Stanford" (Confidential Memo, April 27, 1970, p. 1). It was unclear what this incorporation looked like to EDP supporters, given the statements made below.

Indeed, the Dean of Undergraduate Studies made the recommendation in the mid-1970s to centralize functions such as accreditation. In response, one of the former Program directors wrote:

[The Dean] proposes the expansion of the committee that now deals with Undergraduate Specials into a single credit granting body that would handle all so called Extra Departmental Programs. From a bureaucratic-administrative standpoint, this proposal looks very good, for it would simplify organization and clearly define responsibility. A standardization of credit granting criteria could be established and administrative controls could be easily handled. But perhaps the strongest arguments against this procedure are the very points used to justify it. SWOPSI and SCIRE are student oriented programs whose natures are innovative. Bringing these programs under some central credit granting board for the purpose of simplifying administration and quality control presumes the purposes and criteria of the two programs to be identical and the need for more control to exist -- neither of these assumptions is true (Confidential Memo, no date, p. 2).

SWOPSI leaders lamented their loss of autonomy in a 1972 *Stanford Daily* article:

In the formalization SWOPSI has moved from a free-form 'maverick' program not explicitly under the jurisdiction of any administrative office,

to an increasingly bureaucratic program.... SWOPSI no longer exists as an autonomous student program (*More on SWOPSI*, 1972).

The article goes on to note that the position for Director of SWOPSI had become a permanent, full-time position. In another *Stanford Daily* article, Swent (1972, p. 1) quoted the Director as saying, "If the motivation for running a workshop were to become monetary or the administrative staff become permanent...the result would be bureaucratic entrenchment and eventual stagnation of a previously dynamic program." He went on to say, "In formalizing SWOPSI's administrative structure, [the Director] tried to build in checks against such standardization" (1972, p. 1). Those checks included yearly turnover of the Director, a half-time student director, workshop leaders who volunteered to teach, and a Policy Board of which students comprised the majority.

During this same time period, the Dean's Office hired an Assistant Dean of Undergraduate Studies to oversee and serve as liaison to the EDPs. "With this move into administrative ranks, SWOPSI's budget for 1972/1973 has doubled over this year's. Such a large financial commitment from the administration seems to ensure SWOPSI's permanence, but as a bureaucratic empire rather than as a volunteer, student-controlled, experimental program" (*More on SWOPSI*, 1972). The SWOPSI staff saw a clear shift of power from the students to the Dean. The following was raised in a 1972 *Stanford Daily* article:

One wonders whether it is possible for any truly innovative education to coexist with an administration bent on formalizing, standardizing, and bureaucratizing. SWOPSI's 'flaw' was that it was, in fact, innovative (*More on SWOPSI*, 1972).

An administrator described the tensions between wanting to centralize the EDPs and wanting to keep them autonomous:

The departments are the heart of the institution. And if you want to make a real change, you've got to make a change in the departments. And so the idea was, we were going to use these student-initiated programs as a way to somehow lever the departments into doing some of this stuff. It shouldn't have to come from students.... But, of course, the students love the fact that they were doing it and, I think, just...ideologically, if the departments were doing it, it wouldn't have the same meaning. Couldn't be as innovative or as radicalizing by definition because the departments, in their view, couldn't possibly be that. That's why they did this in the first place.

Perceived Program Quality: Faculty and Administrators

When asked about the quality of EDP courses and projects, those closest to the Programs felt that there were enough approval and evaluation processes in place that, for the most part, the quality was high. Those farther away from the EDPs, who had never sponsored a course, tended to be critical of program quality. When asked about SWOPSI in particular, several informants used the moniker “SWOPSI, FLOPSI, MOPSI” to describe how the Program was perceived. A program administrator described the perceptions about SWOPSI and his understanding of the quality of the courses:

...they got, you know, the SWOPSI, MOPSI reputation...people would think that it was flaky.... I don't think [that was a valid concern]. I mean, I think that we took the whole thing very seriously! And, I think in terms of working with people designing proposals, in terms of requirement for faculty sponsorship was more than say you have now with the student-initiated courses where the faculty members don't even know what they're signing off which, I think, is part of the issue.... I mean, there are some faculty members who may have been taken advantage of.... But, I really think the faculty members did write proper sponsor letters for people and meet with their people that they were working with and, yes, people were having fun doing what they did but I really think that there was rigor and there was focus in what they were doing.

Another administrator who worked closely with the Programs felt that “the work that the students did in the workshops really had some payoffs in terms of actual social policy.” On the other hand he said “there were courses where there was a little too much touchy- feely stuff...” When asked about faculty perceptions about the experiential aspects of the EDPs, he said, “I think they were nervous about it...so that was part of what we were trying to do to make sure that there wasn't just the experience. That there was some kind of product that codified the experience in such a way that awarding of credit was valid. That was the big issue.”

The issue of granting credit was one that would be revisited throughout SWOPSI and SCIRE's histories. A program administrator described the credit approval decision making process for SCIRE:

It's a land mine situation just the whole issue of a group of faculty and students deciding on credit and it's a second class credit, first of all because it's [perceived as] not of the same quality as departmental work.... I mean, sure there are large lectures that we go to and nobody really evaluates the quality of education there. Yeah, the old notes are crumbling and there is no dialogue and...the lab is led by a grad

student...who is also learning and you've come to world class university and you're not even...attending lectures by that person.... The ideal university is a small seminar and you read exciting things and you talk about them.... You know, all the levels...it's very hard to guarantee a rigorous, intellectual experience in many kinds of learning and experiential learning is not alone in that. But it is the step daughter of the University's main goal. So, it was to no one's surprise that the Program stopped. It was to everyone's pleasure, I hope, that it continued as long as it did.

There was a sense among Program staff that their courses were scrutinized more closely and held to higher standards than traditional courses. They felt that regardless of their efforts, the academic portion of the EDPs would always be considered second class.

An administrator recalled how students involved with EDPs were part of an inauguration event for the new President in 1970. He described how students also played a role in perpetuating the negative perceptions about the Program:

We had the symposium presenting undergraduate education to this group of alumni.... We had some student presenters and I had briefed them as to what they were going to do and they had explained that my project is such and such and I'm going to explain. So, we had this thing all lined up and one of the students got up and said, 'I've decided that I'm not going to talk about my project. I'm going to read you a poem,' and he gives this poem, this just real touchy-feely stuff. Well, that confirmed all the worst fears of the alumni about what was going on with this new Dean of Undergraduate Education and the student-initiated programs and there it was! Right in front of their eyes! See, it's all touchy-feely and Stanford education is going down the tubes and, oh, boy! ...and the students did not have a sense...as political as they thought they were, of how important it was politically to present a certain kind of front and image about what we were doing. It was more important to them to kind of let it all hang out and be expressive.

When asked about faculty reactions to the activist nature of SWOPSI he described how the current social and political context was relevant:

Yeah, I think, generally, faculty...the people who were not supportive were fairly quiet. Remember, this was during the Vietnam War and it just wasn't very fashionable to make too much noise about being against such things. Also, it was a little dangerous. This was a time when buildings were being trashed. The President's Office was set on fire...you know, a lifetime of mementos went up in flames...lights and buildings were kept on 24 hours so that if somebody was inside the building, they could be seen.

In a memo dated September 22, 1972, the Chair of the Committee on Undergraduate Studies stated "...the Senate discussion made it clear that some aspects of the SWOPSI and SCIRE programs were disquieting to some persons and that they wished to arrive at a better balance between quality control and the enablement of creative innovation" (p. 1). The main issue of concern seemed to have been about what experiences and activities were credit-worthy, as well as if there were enough criteria and standards in place to ensure academic quality. This memo also stated:

The Senate discussion made it clear that there will be no relinquishment by faculty of its responsibility for academic credit. To put it as bluntly as I know how, there is no way by which SCIRE can have the right to grant academic credit without review and the right of refusal by someone ultimately responsible to the faculty, unless the SCIRE Policy Board should agree to have a faculty, not student, majority" (p.2).

On the issue of credit, an administrator added that "...the credit should always ultimately be granted through the faculty and even if you had non-faculty instructors, there should be a faculty person and a faculty administrative person who would certify that the credit was worthwhile." When asked whether a faculty person always oversaw credit, he replied, "Uh...technically, yes...there was always a faculty person who signed. Some faculty members were more diligent than others in terms of overseeing what was going on in the course that carried their endorsement."

Since perceptions about the quality of SWOPSI and SCIRE varied, it is useful to provide an overview of how SWOPSI proposals were evaluated reportedly. According to a document entitled, *Workshop Approval Process* (no date), SWOPSI course proposals had to meet five criteria in order to be approved for academic credit:

1. The workshop cannot duplicate any offerings currently available in departments;
2. The workshop must be sponsored by an Academic Council member who will claim responsibility for academic quality;
3. The workshop leader must be qualified to lead the workshop based on his or her experience or education;
4. Academic credit is commensurate with the amount of intellectual work required for the class;
5. The student(s) must create a product, process, or performance that can be evaluated for the purpose of granting credit.

The criteria for credit had to be approved by the Committee on Undergraduate Studies as well as the Faculty Senate. Course proposals were reviewed by the SWOPSI Policy Board, which was comprised of four students, four faculty members, one community representative, the Associate Dean for Undergraduate Programs in H&S and the program staff.

SWOPSI Student Evaluations

In a summary of course evaluations from 1969-1972, students had the following to say about what they learned through SWOPSI courses they took (SWOPSI Courses: An Evaluation, 1972, p.1-2):

- 'It's really a different thing to read about psychotic children, and think you know a lot, but working with them makes you realize how little you know.'
- 'Do not be afraid to include non-academic work in the course; it is a breath of fresh air in the stifling academic surroundings.'
- 'It is one of the first practical courses I have ever had.'
- 'I used my psychology background and statistics to interpret and correlate answers from a survey I distributed.'
- 'Unlike well-established academic disciplines where taxonomies exist, the students have had to develop their own. This is especially the case where an issue cuts across several disciplines and one sees limitations of any one discipline's taxonomy.'
- Learned about bureaucracy as a factor in getting (or not getting) things done. 'Teaches me how to approach and, to an extent, how to cut red tape.'
- 'I learned about the problems of small working groups.'

They had the following critiques (SWOPSI Courses: An Evaluation, 1972, p. 2):

- 'I expected more "meat" and direction from the instructors.'
- 'Fun to be informal, but most SWOPSI teachers are under-organized.'
- SWOPSI courses either too rigidly tied to lectures or too unstructured and student-controlled. (Although others said, 'I enjoyed the loose organization.')
- Loose structure may force students to design their own program, to make sense out of the material, to ask the right questions on their own. 'Stanford teaches people how to do assignments and follow rules, and when there are no assignments and academic games/rules to play a lot of us sit back and relax.'

- ...a few did far more than required, while many coasted along. A few interested, the rest apathetic. 'Due to lack of direction, I did no research.'
- General reputation for 'an easy 3 units.' But in some cases, students put in more than 3 units worth, and in [one course] 'real work came as interest and involvement deepened.'

Instructors were also asked to evaluate their experiences. The Program staff concluded that the "quality of instruction varies greatly within such categories as faculty, graduate student, non-academics; some of [the]best instructors are non-academics" (p. 3). The SWOPSI staff came to the following conclusion after evaluating the courses:

Where there is relative freedom to structure one's own education, a few will work harder and learn more than in the usual course, while the majority will flounder in terms of goals and tend not to work hard. An instructor should be attentive to the needs of the majority in this case (p. 2).

While most students felt that they learned things through SWOPSI they couldn't have learned in more traditional courses, some felt the need for a level of structure closer to that of a traditional classroom.

A student who enrolled in several SWOPSI courses between 1974-1978 provided one perspective on the content and rigor of the courses. He reflected on one course he took about geodesic domes and alternative housing, saying the following about the course's experiential component:

I remember one of the 'experiences.' We went up to the Exploratorium and in the evening had the place all to ourselves and we went to the tactile dome. And we all crawled around through the tactile dome in the dark for, you know, a half hour and then debriefed about the 'experience' inside the dome. It had this sort of zen-like thing that was part of the philosophy of it, I think.

When asked about course requirements and readings, he added:

I actually went into storage and tried to find my textbooks to see if there was any SWOPSI material in it.... Either I threw it away because it was useless or it didn't exist. And my guess is, it didn't exist. You just showed up to the class and did stuff, you know, and there was no homework. There wasn't any textbook. What textbook? You know, life is the textbook!

With regard to the faculty sponsor he said, "I don't remember him being a significant [presence]...other than the fact that we went to his house and I think he dropped in on some of the meetings. It was pretty thin. It was not very academic at all." He added that the instructors easily could have brought in sociological, anthropological or engineering perspectives to illuminate the topic of alternative housing.

He was not sure how representative his experience was compared to that of other students who enrolled in SWOPSI courses, but remarked that among students, SWOPSI had a "flaky" reputation despite the fact that students enjoyed the courses: "I think it was just generally recognized as being pretty flaky, but being in it was just such a nice release from everything else you had to do. The people taking it weren't complaining."

While this student was skeptical about the experiential value of some of the SWOPSI courses he took, he mentioned that in general at that time, there were not many experiential learning opportunities available to students at Stanford. Those that were available were not linked to academics very well. "So the experiential people were on to something good. I think the execution was a little weak." This lack of experience became more evident when he took an engineering job after graduation and realized that he could have benefited more from actual experiences such as design projects rather than learning mainly through problem sets.

The Next Era of Uncertainty: 1975-1982

In 1975, the University projected a \$10 million budget cut over a three-year period. According to an article in the *Stanford Daily*, SWOPSI, SCIRE and the Urban Studies programs were "probable victims" as the University sought to cut budgets (Moulton, 1975, p. 1). The financial crisis created a debate about the merits of SWOPSI and SCIRE. According to the Dean of Undergraduate Studies, SWOPSI "had reached a point of diminishing returns" by that point in time (Moulton, 1975, p.1). An editorial on the same date shows support for the Dean's proposal to cut those programs. "SWOPSI and SCIRE, while innovative in their intent, have in large part failed to justify much enthusiasm or support. [The Dean's] recommendation to terminate them seems wise" (1975, p. 1).

In a February 10, 1975 editorial of the *Stanford Daily*, the Dean said "The core issue at hand is not the academic quality of SWOPSI. It is what size staff should be devoted to the extra-departmental programs in a time of fiscal stringency? What organizational

arrangements make most effective use of that necessarily limited staff?" In a February 20, 1975 press release the Dean had suggested "...funding a half-time staff position to help student-initiated projects and expressed hope some workshops could be incorporated in regular curricula."

In 1975, the Dean of Undergraduate Studies recommended that SWOPSI be eliminated. According to an administrator, the administration wanted to make cost-cutting a discussion among program staff given the inclusive nature of EDPs, however, "one of the staff members who was the Director of SCIRE just leaked the whole thing to the *[Stanford] Daily* and so...I thought, given the nature of our office, it was fair to have a public--in terms of the office--discussion of what we might do and then come up with something final, but it was not ready to be aired to the public." He reported that the student paper reported prematurely that the EDPs were to be cut, which "removed the flexibility we could have in terms of [negotiation]."

In a November 1975 memo to the Senate of the Academic Council, the Dean of Undergraduate Studies wrote "In the formal sense, the University has defined both [SWOPSI and SCIRE] as experimental" (p.2) in that offerings must be sponsored by an Academic Council member and accreditation power existed outside of the Programs. Several students on the SWOPSI Policy Board opposed the Dean's recommendation for reorganization of EDPs by writing a letter to the Provost stating that "SWOPSI is not an experimental program; currently in its sixth year of successful operation, it is a regular component of the university curriculum.... SWOPSI was established to fulfill a need not met by regular departments: to provide within Stanford's curriculum more practical and direct involvement in the search for solutions to urgent social and political problems" (SWOPSI Policy Board, January 14, 1975, p. 1). The students emphasized further that SWOPSI met a need not covered by departments to address current topics that were often transitory in nature. The group stated:

We feel that [the Dean's] recommendations about SWOPSI are based on an inaccurate perception of the functions of an independent extradepartmental program on social issues. The goal of SWOPSI is to supplement the regular offerings of departments in the ways described above. Its purposes are unique in the university; no other department can assume the role of the SWOPSI program" (SWOPSI Policy Board, 1975, p.2).

Tensions around the EDPs' future mounted throughout February 1975 and culminated in a student protest, complete with a mock funeral, to oppose the proposed closing of SWOPSI and SCIRE and declare the "death" of undergraduate education. A press release stated, "About 300 students celebrated the 'death' of undergraduate education at Stanford Thursday, Feb. 20" (Stanford University News Service, February 20, 1975). Students gathered 2000 signatures on petitions in protest of the proposed closures and submitted them to the Provost. During the protest a faculty member was quoted as saying that SCIRE and SWOPSI were "'very important supplements' to undergraduate education." A student was quoted as saying that the University had "'no commitment to teaching, no commitment to minorities, and no commitment to innovation--that's clear.'" In some confidential notes, a SWOPSI supporter stated:

We recognize that the money, the accreditation power, and the appointment power all emanate from above. We also recognize that many faculty do not see the programs as valuable. We are not trying to alienate people, we are simply trying to survive. The Dean is close to pulling off a self-fulfilling prophesy (sic). [The Dean says] that many faculty will not support the programs if they see them as controversial, yet by [the Dean's] lack of support or even tolerance of the programs...is making them controversial and an anathema in the eyes of some faculty" (Ideas for Next Presentation to Ad Hoc Panel, no date).

During this time period, the SWOPSI Policy Board was still fighting to remain independent since "The Policy Board believes that departments cannot incorporate SWOPSI's most significant functions and that SWOPSI should remain an independent program" (SWOPSI Policy Board, February 3, 1975, p. 1). The Board opposed the Dean's proposal to place some of SWOPSI's courses in a new agency, UNGRASPEL, which was to be a combination of SWOPSI and Undergraduate Special. The Board saw the course offerings of SWOPSI and Undergraduate Special as not compatible.

SWOPSI and SCIRE's relationship with ODUS continued to be a regular topic of discussion during the mid-1970s. The various and ongoing tensions between ODUS and the EDPs were captured in a 1975 memo to the Ad Hoc Panel on the Future of the EDPs entitled "The Heart of the Matter:"

There has been a history of tension between ODUS and SWOPSI/SCIRE and although the issues of conflict have varied, at the heart of the matter

lies a basic difference between ODUS' and the program representatives' conceptions of the nature and functions of the programs.... A critical area of disagreement is the degree to which these two programs (especially SWOPSI) should be expected to fit into the mainstream operation of the University.... The motivation behind this stance is the belief that stability and administrative effectiveness can best be achieved by these programs if they are closely integrated into the University's administrative structure. People associated with SWOPSI have generally rejected this point of view. They see numerous benefits accruing from remaining, and being conceived of as, a marginal part of the University. Among SWOPSI's functions, policy board members conceive of the program being an 'adversarial organization,' a 'gadfly to the University,' a 'bad conscience.' They see this role only feasible as long as the program retains a semi-autonomous stance within the institution. Also members of the policy board indicate that one of the reasons students and instructors are attracted to SWOPSI is its 'history of being at odds with the University.'... A related area of disagreement is the Dean's view of SWOPSI/SCIRE as experimental programs whose successful features should be 'incorporated into the regular programs of the university.'... However, SWOPSI policy board members see the program not as an experiment, but as an alternative to regular academic structures. 'The goal of SWOPSI is to supplement the regular offerings of departments.... Its purposes are unique in the University; no other department can assume the role of the SWOPSI program.' Nor are they as concerned as the Dean about SWOPSI's academic acceptability.... 'If efficiency, conformity and order are preferred to responsiveness, variety and flexibility, then bureaucracy is inevitable. If bureaucracy is unavoidable, then SWOPSI has been reformed by the University rather than the University being reformed by SWOPSI' (pp. 1-3).

This memo was written as the result of many years of disagreement about the EDPs' position in the University. This administrator added that the University needed to decide the degree to which it would tolerate the Programs' unique characteristics:

Can the University tolerate programs which by their structure and activities challenge current expectations for administrative operation and academic accreditation? If the answer to these questions is 'yes,' then maybe ODUS can accept the distinctive nature of SWOPSI/SCIRE and work with them without the energy-sapping tensions which have plagued their interaction for five years. If the answer is 'no,' then SWOPSI/SCIRE should be terminated and something like 'UNGRASPEL' developed to perform 'low-risk' EDP functions (p. 3).

After several years of differing opinions, the Dean changed his position about trying to bring the Programs to the University core:

The programs have accurately viewed my actions as an attempt to bring them and their learning formats, or both, more into the center of the University. In my recent response to the report of the Ad Hoc Panel on Extradepartmental Programs, I finally have yielded completely on the latter point. In my view, it is apparent that both the departments and the programs wish to see the programs retain their quasi-autonomous status. My proposal that the Senate renew their charges for three years and related budget recommendations accept this view.... In extending the charges to SWOPSI and SCIRE the Senate must be prepared to live with a good deal of ambiguity about what is accredited and about the rigor of course offerings. It must also be prepared to have continuing disagreement about such matters, especially if faculty reservations remain largely unspoken in public situations (Memo to Senate of the Academic Council, 1975, p. 9 & 19).

Ongoing Academic Quality Debates

The debates about academic quality continued throughout SWOPSI and SCIRE's histories, although often behind closed doors. While SWOPSI and SCIRE's supporters stated that the key feature of the Programs was its student-centeredness:

The programs' strongest detractors, who, given their shyness about stating their views publically (sic), could be 'closet-centered,' admit that the EDP's innovations grow out of the fact that the programs' are so strongly student-influenced. But, they argue, these activities are either non-academic or not sufficiently academic because students do not have an adequate sense of what is 'academic'" (Memo to Senate of the Academic Council, 1975, p. 10).

The author of the memo added that there was a lack of consensus about the answers to the following questions:

- Is experiential learning academic?
- Is it accreditable when it is combined with a strong component of traditional learning via reading and writing papers?
- How academic is teaching, particularly with an applied focus, when done by para-faculty? (Memo to Senate of the Academic Council, 1975, p. 10).

Stanford's President at this time was quoted as saying that these questions were not being debated openly among faculty, in particular:

'Critics of the programs have generally seemed reluctant to speak; their comments, in the Senate and elsewhere, have tended to be oblique, tangential, or otherwise have fallen short of direct engagement on such central questions as the best means to insure quality control without stifling the programs, or the extent to which it is desirable to augment the

teaching skills of the faculty by enlisting those of nonfaculty, persons with direct experience in the subjects taught. Again, are the programs in question skewed politically? Are they a kind of intellectual redoubt, from which partisans of the Left can sally forth from time to time and to which they can return for periods of protection? I've heard individual members of the faculty assert something like that (agreed, not in exactly the language...) in private conversation. But unless such suspicions are voiced openly they can scarcely be adequately responded to. In short, the debate is truncated or impoverished' (Memo to Senate of the Academic Council, 1975, p. 11).

The President called for data that could be used to have a more meaningful discussion about academic quality. Another administrator agreed that faculty tended to support SWOPSI publicly but would criticize the Program privately when speaking with administrators.

And their public pronouncements about SWOPSI or SCIRE--they would be very supportive of what the students were doing--you know, 'this is great.' And then behind the scenes, they would come to me and say, 'you know, some of this stuff is really kind of shaky and we want you to be sure that you are being firm about the quality of the credit' and so, I'm the guy who is caught in the middle. They're sort of out there being the good cop and supporting the students and I'm having to be the bad cop and say, 'this course needs to be strengthened in this way. Like, you need more readings. What's the written work of the course?' That kind of stuff. And even the senior administration...I was getting more messages behind the scenes, like, 'you've really got to be firm here about this credit' and those same officials were not making that noise as loudly in public.

In December 2, 1975, a Stanford University News Service press release reported that despite the controversies surrounding them, SWOPSI and SCIRE would receive a three year renewal "...ending more than six years of continued uncertainty and conflict over their future" (p. 1). In approving the renewal, the C-US was quoted as stating "'the SWOPSI-SCIRE programs provide an important source of innovation within the University at low cost'" (p. 1).

Credit for Experience?

Part of the academic debates during this period centered on whether or not students should receive credit for experience. In a 1975 *Stanford Daily* article, "Is Experience For Credit Valid?," Cunningham stated that at Stanford "...some administrators apparently consider the granting of credit for [experience] incongruous with what a university

education should be” (p. 1). According to Cunningham, in 1973 the then Assistant Dean of Undergraduate Studies proposed granting 12-15 credits to students working with professionals in the field. According to one administrator, “...the plan was scrapped because the Provost’s Office wanted to ‘build in so many controls or academic mechanisms that it became contrived.’” Although the proposal was approved by the C-US in 1973, the President and Provost were reluctant to allow the granting of credit for off-campus experiential learning. While the general view among these administrators was that experiential learning was valuable, they saw the purpose of the University as providing something that was unavailable elsewhere--classroom learning. The concerns centered around “‘what’s education and what’s academic,’” according to one administrator (p. 1). An administrator was said to have “warned against a tendency for the University to become a ‘glorified professional trade school’” (p. 1) and that experiential learning should supplement, not substitute the traditional functions of Stanford.

As a result of these debates one administrator stated that he started encouraging off-campus experiences for students who wanted to stop-out from their undergraduate education, rather than those trying to gain credit for such experiences. Some students disagreed with the administrators’ views that experience was not credit-worthy and that the focus at Stanford should be on a liberal arts education. One student was quoted as saying, “‘A degree in a major like history or English is the best prerequisite for unemployment’” (Cunningham, 1975, p. 1).

From Activism to Clinical Fieldwork

SWOPSI Program descriptions during this time highlighted some of the subtle changes that had occurred in regard to SWOPSI’s functions:

SWOPSI’s [functions] include: facilitating various forms of community involvement for students including field research and clinical field work, facilitating the study of controversial social and political issues and the active search for solutions to these problems, fostering the use of the workshop format (an approach that enables students to participate actively in designing the learning process), training students in the use of field research methods, publicizing the results of student field research, and encouraging institutional introspection at Stanford through symposia and investigative workshops (Ad Hoc Panel on the Future of the EDPs, 1975, p. 2).

According to at least two informants, SWOPSI had evolved to offer credit for students engaged in clinical field work and that few workshops continued to emphasize publishing research findings. One of them said:

That's sort of a shift from the political framework so that there were always some clinical ones because people thought it was a good idea, but I think the clinical ones grew as the grassroots sort of turned a little brown.

These administrators perceived this broadening of SWOPSI's function as a dilution of the radical, action-oriented nature of SWOPSI that was essential to its inception. In a memo to the Senate of the Academic Council, the Dean wrote that while early SWOPSI workshops were field research and action-oriented, "In the past several years about half of the workshops have become 'clinically' oriented. That is, a number of workshops now involve a field placement in an institution like the Peninsula Children's Center backed up by a seminar" (1975, p. 3). Examples of clinically-oriented workshops included "Experience-Based Study of the Meaning of Being Handicapped" and "Working in a Behavior Modification Classroom." A program administrator described this shift as "action" being interpreted in multiple ways:

[In the early years] there were, you know, really substantial sort of muck raking research type publications that were done such that the action orientation that was so important to the founders of SWOPSI was really, you know, taken very seriously and one of the things that happened was that there ended up being sort of a split in terms of what was meant by action. In other words, the question is: does action mean taking it to the community or does action mean clinical experience? And so, it ended up there were two different tracks of SWOPSI classes. There would be the one on prisons and education of prisons and whatever, that would try to change the life of prisoners, and then there would be something like teaching handicapped kids to swim at the Community Association for the Retarded--the Betty Wright Swim Center--where you have the experience base to study of the meaning of being handicapped. Or something about early childhood development with volunteering at a childcare center or something like that. So there were sort of these two different paths of how the action orientation was interpreted.

Informants felt that controversial projects such as the critical study students did on Department of Defense sponsored research at Stanford had become rare.

The Ad Hoc Panel on the Future of the Extradepartmental Programs

In 1975 a group of faculty and administrators who had been charged with evaluating the Extradepartmental Programs (which included SWOPSI and SCIRE), produced a document entitled, "Final Report: Ad Hoc Panel on the Future of the Extradepartmental Programs." The Ad Hoc Review Panel recommended that SWOPSI, SCIRE and Undergraduate Specials be maintained and made specific recommendations, including the following:

1. The three programs should remain as separate administrative and accrediting agencies while continuing to work closely together in their present location (p.3).
2. The EDPs should remain independent of departmental or school control. It is appropriate for them to be associated with ODUS; any alternative arrangement should retain their independence (p. 5).
3. Continuing efforts should be made to insure high quality academic offerings in the EDPs (p. 6).
4. The EDPs should be completely financed with guaranteed funding at an acceptable level for the period of their authorization by the Senate of the Academic Council (p. 6).
5. The individual serving as Assistant/Associate Dean for EDPs should perform credit review duties, liaison activities and catalytic functions (p. 7).
6. SWOPSI and SCIRE should continue to have program directors who are expected to function both as program advocates communicating program perspectives and expectations to the community and as conduits of administrative concerns to their policy boards (p. 8).
7. Both SWOPSI and SCIRE should have a staffing pattern which utilizes half-time student co-directors in addition to half-time professional directors. The total staff of the three programs should not be less than three full time equivalents.
8. The accreditation structure for SWOPSI and SCIRE should continue to employ the C-US Sub-Committee on Credit Review to arbitrate irresolvable disagreements between the programs and the Dean (p. 11).
9. SWOPSI and SCIRE should continue to have student-faculty policy boards that make decisions about program operations (p. 11).
10. Special efforts should be made to improve communications between the Dean and the programs (p. 12).

Although the Panel was supportive of continuing the EDPs in general, there were some areas of disagreement among panel members. For example, some Panel members felt that the EDPs should be reorganized so that a single board would be established to grant credit for the programs. Such a move "...could result in increased administrative efficiency and uniformity in accreditation." However, "other Panel members think that the liabilities of reorganization are likely to outweigh the liabilities" (Ad Hoc Panel on the Future of EDPs, 1975, p. 4). In agreeing that C-US should continue to arbitrate disputes about credit between the programs and the Dean, they stated "The arrangement for resolving accreditation disputes serves to reinforce the original intent that these programs would function as semi-autonomous entities within the University" (Ad Hoc Panel on the Future of the EDPs, 1975, p. 2). Some members also thought that any reorganization should include similar programs such as ARLO and Undergraduate Research Opportunities (URO). The Panel did agree that the administrative structure should be university-wide given the interdisciplinary nature of the EDPs. The Panel also appeared to respect the Program Directors' assertions that the programs be student-centered:

Many people associated with these programs believe strongly that the imposition of further administrative controls will stifle the innovative aspects of the programs, particularly in SWOPSI and SCIRE. It is essential that future administrative arrangements for the EDPs respect their student centeredness, their innovative mode of operation, and their cross-disciplinary orientation (Ad Hoc Panel on the Future of the EDPs, 1975, p. 6).

The Panel agreed that over the prior two years SWOPSI and SCIRE had been plagued by financial problems. "In spite of these difficulties the programs have demonstrated their value and their cost-effectiveness; they therefore deserve a commitment of firm financial support" (Ad Hoc Panel on the Future of the EDPs, 1975, p. 6). They added that having to contend with financial difficulties had prevented the directors from focusing on programmatic concerns and program growth.

The Arrow Report Era: 1983-1984

The EDPs were reviewed again in 1983 when the Dean of Humanities and Sciences created a Review Committee on Extradepartmental Education⁴ and charged the Committee with the following responsibilities:

to deliberate on priorities in extradepartmental education in the 1980s, to formulate criteria for programs outside departments, and to review the operations of the following programs in the School of Humanities and Sciences--The Student Center for Innovation in Research and Education (SCIRE), Stanford Workshops on Political and Social Issues (SWOPSI), Undergraduate Research Opportunities (URO), Action Research Liaison Office (ARLO), and the Undergraduate Special Program (UGS)⁵ (Stanford University, 1984, p. 1).

According to one of the Committee members, this review was initiated in response to concerns about quality that faculty had voiced. As part of their review, the Committee interviewed or surveyed students, faculty and program staff associated with the EDPs. The Arrow Report stated the following conclusions based on the Committee's review:

The courses (SWOPSI and UGS) are judged to be less time-consuming than regular courses. The research experiences (ARLO and URO) are more time-consuming than regular courses but not because the material is more difficult. And the special nature of the programs does not generate higher levels of intellectual engagement than regular courses. Especially troubling to the Committee is the broad consensus among participants, despite enthusiasm for the programs, that the material encountered is less demanding and that the evaluations used are less rigorous than those in regular Stanford courses (1984, p. 3).

The Committee concluded that the EDPs met what many considered to be an important need in Stanford's undergraduate education--one that is unavailable through departments. They added that the program staffs were competent and attentive to students' needs. They also emphasized that the URO program was underutilized since they believed that student - faculty interaction through research was important.

The Committee asserted that, in general, the EDPs suffered from academic legitimacy problems since "the rigor of academic work and grading generally falls below the University's standards, this despite conscientious review of the proposals presented to

⁴ The final report this Committee submitted was known widely as the Arrow Report, named for the faculty member who chaired it.

⁵ Although ARLO and URO had not been considered EDPs historically, they were included under this designation for the purposes of this review and final report, given their similarities with the EDPs.

the relevant supervising boards” (p. 6). Some faculty and administrators perceived SWOPSI to be lacking in academic rigor, despite the fact that an Academic Council member had to supervise each course or project. When asked about why faculty seemed to hold SWOPSI to different standards than regular courses, a faculty member on the Committee replied “...it was a little remote from their responsibility...[a] less direct sense of responsibility. There was certainly less supervision but then, in a way, that was the purpose.... If you had as much supervision, you wouldn’t be having an extradepartmental-
- well, a student run [program].”

The Review Committee believed that the complex organization of EDPs led to confusion among University members, even among Program participants:

...there are five acronymically named programs with eight people filling 5.25 FTE positions in two locations.... Internships present a particularly complicated picture with ARLO, SCIRE, the Career Planning and Placement Center (CPPC) and departments or programs all offering varied services, some cross-listed in the SCIRE clearinghouse catalog and some not. Despite staff publicity efforts, many students and faculty -- even participants in the EDPs -- do not know what the acronyms mean (Stanford University, 1984, p. 7).

Finally, the Committee concluded that while experiential learning in itself could be valuable educationally, it was not necessarily “academic” in nature. They added: “distinctions between experiential learning and academic research have not been clearly made” (p.7).

In light of these conclusions, the Committee recommended restructuring the EDPs to distinguish between academic and non-academic programs more clearly. The specific goals of this reorganization included to eliminate confusion and duplication of services, to improve communication among various parts of the Stanford community, to encourage more direct involvement of faculty in EDPs, to improve academic quality standards, to create greater opportunities for undergraduate research under faculty supervision, and to encourage the use of internships and other forms of experiential learning within existing departments as a basis for academic work that could be combined with experiential learning for legitimate credit.

The Creation of Innovative Academic Courses (IAC)

Based on the recommendations of the Committee, the administration eliminated ARLO, eliminated SCIRE and merged SWOPSI and Undergraduate Special with URO to form a new center called Innovative Academic Courses (IAC). IAC became a single extradepartmental education center that could accredit both courses and research opportunities. Research opportunities through URO were to be expanded. The proposed new center would be administered by a half-time director who was a tenured faculty member, for the purposes of increasing legitimacy for the EDPs. According to the Arrow Committee, "As a member of the academic community, this person would legitimize extradepartmental education in the eyes of students and faculty and personify strengthened ties between the programs offered by the center and regular departments and programs in the University" (Stanford University, 1984, p. 9).

In addition to the new centralized organizational unit to oversee EDPs, the Committee recommended creating a clearinghouse for all community-based, private sector and governmental agency internships. The clearinghouse would centralize field placements used in ARLO, SCIRE, SWOPSI and the new proposed Public Service Center. This centralization would reduce duplication of services through the various programs. The internships, by themselves, would not carry credit; however, students could arrange for credit through faculty sponsorship if academic work was completed in addition to the internship.

In their review of individual programs, the Committee agreed that URO was a strong but underutilized program that needed additional resources allocated to it. The other programs were reviewed with less enthusiasm, although the Committee recognized that students for the most part were enthusiastic about them and the programs met certain educational needs. The Committee deemed the credit aspect of SCIRE as problematic in that credit granting was sometimes an afterthought. They were also concerned about the variance in the amount and quality of work students did through SCIRE. They concluded that "There are, however, compelling reasons to think that academic credit is inappropriate for internship/experiential activities, and many of the inadequacies of the current structure can be traced to this problem" (Stanford University, 1984, p. 13). The recommendations

about internships essentially served to eliminate the SCIRE Program, which was closed in 1985.

From the Committee's perspective, the most significant problem with SWOPSI was that it lacked legitimacy from the perspective of students and faculty. The Committee felt that students often failed to take the courses seriously, largely because of the required pass/no credit grading⁶. They also recommended that some of SWOPSI's clinical fieldwork activities were best administered as internships.

Action Research Liaison Office (ARLO), which engaged students in action research in the community, was seen as a relatively strong program with a certain amount of national visibility. The Committee found it problematic to combine internships with research requirements that were deemed creditworthy. Since faculty sponsors were not involved directly in the students' research projects, the Committee found that it would be difficult to impose and evaluate an adequate level of academic standards. The Committee implied that some faculty felt pressure to grant credit despite thorough supervision of academic quality.

Criticism about the Arrow Report

The EDP staff as well as some faculty criticized the Arrow Report on a number of dimensions. In a December 1984 memo to the EDP boards, the Chair of the C-US wrote:

The [Arrow] report creates a dilemma with the sentence (on p. 11) 'The internships should not by themselves carry any credit' while allowing that internships could carry credit when departmentally sponsored. (Evidently, Human Biology requires internships of its majors, and other departments, such as Communications, provide credit for internships as an elective.) Without SCIRE, the person left out is precisely the individual, such as an English major who wishes an internship in journalism, whose department has no mechanism for developing, supervising, and sponsoring internships (p.1).

The elimination of SCIRE was of particular concern because not all departments sponsored internships, as was one of the unstated goals of SCIRE. According to a program administrator:

Indirectly we tried to encourage departments...our goal was to not have to exist.... The programs were started because students perceived and some faculty perceived that the University wasn't doing everything that it could

⁶ According to SWOPSI staff, this statement was inaccurate since SWOPSI did not require pass/fail credit.

to give a broad education to the undergraduates. I mean, you really have to say, if you're doing a good job, you don't have to exist eventually. You've got the University, they integrate experiential learning, you've gotten a good long term program that keeps the community in touch with the campus. You've established rigor in field work..

One of the barriers to moving SCIRE and SWOPSI activities to the departments was that most of the internships, projects and courses were interdisciplinary. This theme surfaced in descriptions of other programs in the study as well.

Some members of the C-US thought that a reorganization should also serve the function of overseeing extradepartmental internships in addition to overseeing courses and research. They were concerned that a reorganization of EDPs might result in a loss of innovation, vitality and experimentation that had been central to the Programs. In addition, some were concerned that the changes might result in the loss of dedicated senior professionals who ran the Programs.

The SCIRE and SWOPSI Staff and Policy Boards had multiple concerns about the report, including their assessment that the language and generalizations in the report were vague. They also felt that the Committee failed to support all of their conclusions with data and consistently blurred together the different EDPs. In a memo to the Review Committee (May 21, 1984), the SWOPSI staff and Policy Board stated "Both the Board and staff take strong exception to the statement that the programs have evolved away from their original conceptions as 'student-initiated educational opportunities'" (p. 1). They added that more than half of the SWOPSI instructors in 1982-83 were students; and most of the courses were initiated by students. They felt that the Committee's confusion over the complexity of the programs was a result of a lack of correct program information rather than any program inadequacies. The Board and staff disagreed strongly with the assertion that the rigor and grading of EDPs was below University standards because of the rigorous process by which courses and projects were approved and the involvement of faculty at both the accrediting and sponsorship phases of the EDPs. Although they were pleased that student involvement on the Board and staff was to be maintained, they were critical that staff members would now be excluded from course review meetings because of the working knowledge that staff members tended to have about potential course instructors.

The SWOPSI Board and staff were also concerned about the review process, particularly the lack of communication between themselves and the Committee. They were “deeply concerned” by the fact that the Review Committee “ignored significant community involvement in program; [and] community members [were] never contacted or consulted during [the] review process” (SWOPSI Policy Board and Staff, 1984, p. 1). They saw this omission as indicative of the Committee’s failure to acknowledge the special nature of extradepartmental education as non-traditional. In particular the critics felt that the Committee failed to acknowledge the resources the programs drew on in terms of supervisors and instructors from the community.

They were also critical of the Committee’s collection and use of data to support their report, stating that the data were misinterpreted, incomplete and that they do “not consistently support the conclusions of the committee” (p. 2). As an example, the Board and staff reported that in the faculty questionnaire about academic rigor, 27 faculty indicated that student evaluations were equal [to] or more rigorous than other University courses. 35 faculty felt that the evaluations were more rigorous than traditional courses and only 20 felt that evaluations were less thorough. In contrast, the Arrow Report stated that faculty perceived the courses to be lacking in rigor. In general the SWOPSI Board and staff characterized the Arrow Report as full of errors, omissions and misinterpretations.

While discussing the Extradepartmental Review, a faculty member who had served on the Committee seemed surprised to learn about the criticism that the Arrow Report drew:

So I thought we were pretty permissive and very encouraging to continuation. We did have some regulations--I don't even remember what they are now but I did not think we were overly restrictive. So, other people did, huh?... Well, we had some pretty spirited discussions.... I think in the end there was a lot of compromise [but] on the whole, there was a broad consensus....

The Elimination of SCIRE

In addition to the criticisms of the Arrow Report stated above, the SCIRE Policy Board stated the following in a November 1984 memo:

The Arrow Report itself identified that nearly all the students and faculty polled felt that Stanford should offer the following educational experiences (presumably for credit): internships, student-initiated courses,

research with faculty, and educational innovations. SCIRE provides accredited opportunities, funding and task force services in all these areas and is the only centralized body to do so. The Arrow Report recommendations eliminate these critical functions. These needs are not being filled by departments and the report does not suggest an alternative solution to EDP (SCIRE) sponsorship (pp. 1-2).

Since the Arrow Report recommended that internship sponsorship be handled through the departments, the Policy Board responded that the quality of SCIRE internships was higher:

Internships accredited through SCIRE normally exceed the academic requirements of departmental internship programs, requiring relevant coursework, approved and evaluated field placement, requiring a research paper and at least a one-to-one faculty-student ratio in sponsorship (departmental programs usually only require a journal and brief report; sponsorship is frequently supplied by non-faculty or one faculty supervisor for all departmental interns) (p. 2).

When it became clear that the SCIRE Program would be eliminated, its Co-Director surveyed department chairs in January 1985 to gauge their interest in creating departmental internship programs or opening their existing programs to non-majors. Of the 16 departments represented in the survey results, nine reported that they did not have formal mechanisms within the department to grant credit for internships. Many of them relied on the resources of SCIRE for students interested in gaining credit for internships as they didn't have resources within the department to do so. A program administrator described the dominant perspective of faculty and administrators:

The idea behind SCIRE was to give extra departmental credit for things you couldn't get credit for elsewhere. And, I think, the sense was...if it was good enough, faculty would give you directed reading credit. And at that point, you know, SCIRE had evolved too so that it was much more like credit for internships than it was independent projects....there were other ways in the University of dealing with it. So, it was really looking at it from an efficiency standpoint--where is the duplication?

Innovative Academic Courses: The Final Era 1985-1991

In 1985 the Associate Dean of Humanities & Sciences for Undergraduate Programs announced the search for a half-time faculty director for the newly formed "Innovative Academic Courses" (IAC), which was created based on the Arrow Report recommendations. IAC consisted of SWOPSI, Undergraduate Specials, and the Freshman-

Sophomore Seminars. This new director would also provide faculty leadership for Undergraduate Research Opportunities (URO). Based on the Arrow Report recommendations, the faculty director was given the specific charge of strengthening the academic quality of extradepartmental education. An intentional design of the IAC Program was that having a *faculty* director would bring increased academic legitimacy to extradepartmental education. According to one administrator there were some interpersonal issues between an administrator and a SWOPSI staff member that created problems with the Program's viability. He described how a staff member was fired "for no traceable reason" and the rest of the SWOPSI staff quit in response. These actions created a period of increased instability for SWOPSI.

In 1986, the administration in Humanities and Sciences decided to restructure the IAC office by replacing some current staff with a PhD "scholar-activist." (*Stanford Daily*, March 7, 1986). According to an administrator, this move was partly to "solve this problem with all these flaky people." The IAC Board, staff and instructors opposed those changes vigorously, particularly because of what they perceived as the top-down and unexpected manner in which the restructuring plans came about. In a March 10, 1986 letter to the President, the Ad Hoc Task Force in support of IAC wrote that the move to restructure "...demonstrates a lack of commitment to the goals of student direction and collaborative process that IAC programs advocate. We regard the decision to replace the IAC staff with a Ph.D. 'scholar-activist' as elitist. It is irresponsible to claim that this action will better service student needs." Although the Associate Dean of H&S assured the Task Force that student input would be maintained in the staff restructuring, the students pointed out that the Associate Dean "has explicitly stated that the student would have no administrative responsibility and no hand in course development. In short, nothing remotely 'co-directive' would remain to characterize the role of the student in IAC" (Ad Hoc Task Force, 1986).

On March 4, 1986, the Senate of the Associated Students of Stanford University (ASSU) passed a resolution in support of IAC/SWOPSI, stating that the Senate resolved:

1. the programs and structure of IAC, recommended by the Arrow Committee, be maintained until more fully tested;
2. that the present role of the professional staff be maintained, and that the position of student co-director retain its traditional role in

- curriculum design and not be reduced to a tokenization of student input and opinions;
3. that the requirements for IAC staff not include an elitist and arbitrary requirement of a Ph.D.;
 4. that the IAC and its programs continue to seek student and community involvement, and expand -- rather than reduce -- institutional opportunities for such involvement;
 5. that the precipitous and publicized action of the University with respect to reorganizing the IAC represent an attack on the already minimal student input into course development at Stanford; and
 6. that any further action regarding restructuring the IAC be fully discussed in public, with the input of students, faculty and the community encouraged (Bellenson, 1986, pp. 1-2).

IAC supporters perceived that the administration's actions flew directly in the face of the key aspects of SWOPSI and IAC that made them unique--student voice and recognition of the legitimacy of knowledge held by those outside of the traditional faculty role.

Balancing Action and Academics

The new IAC staff was charged with increasing the academic quality of the EDPs, especially SWOPSI. A program administrator described his goals for the Program given the EDPs' reputations:

I was trying to, how should I put it...change the reputation of the program and to say that Innovative Academic Courses was a place for innovation and that it didn't have a political agenda, okay? It had a reputation of being 'on the left and flaky'...you know, dubious academic rigor.

His two goals were to keep the activist component and improve academic rigor. One strategy was to use graduate students increasingly to teach courses in IAC. His strategy for maintaining the political aspect of SWOPSI was to engage a wide range of faculty who were open to different perspectives but did not push a particular political agenda. During the interview he was surprised to learn that some faculty and administrators perceived that the radical or action-oriented aspects of SWOPSI had been diluted over time. He stated:

I tried to get a wide range of faculty to sponsor courses--faculty who were respected...who had no particular political agenda. I tried to do that. I tried to have courses...representing diverse kinds of views and you know...then it gets criticized for being watered down!... And so it's interesting or it's ironic to think that what I was trying to do was make it as rigorous as I could and then there were people who were saying, 'well, it became less political.' We didn't get closed because it became less political, I can assure you of that.

When asked to reflect on the perception that others held that student interest in activism had changed over time, he said that the general conservatism in undergraduate education did not seem to affect SWOPSI:

I don't see that because...we were always overenrolled and students were always coming in with ideas. So from inside the office, I don't see that. I think if you look at...a history of education perspective, it's certainly true...so there was a conservative shift in terms of what it meant to educate undergraduates.

He added, "I was trying to not have a political agenda but make a place for political activism of all sorts and make that academically rigorous." He emphasized that maintaining the activism while improving academic quality meant having instructors who were unbiased. He described how these criteria played out during the proposal process: "We had a course on the Middle East and there was someone who was Palestinian who wanted to teach it and I said, 'sure you can propose this if you have an Israeli [who will co-teach it with you].'" Another SWOPSI course that was offered was about the prison system, and it was co-taught by an ex-Black Panther who was in prison and a woman who had a background in criminology. Another program administrator added that, in part, the selection of the student co-directors, played a role in the level of activism that characterized SWOPSI. Some student co-directors were more politically active than others.

As mentioned above, several faculty and administrators felt that SWOPSI, in particular, had lost some of its radical, student-oriented nature during the IAC era. When asked about SWOPSI under IAC, one administrator said, "well, the more radical of the thrust, I think, got lost. And the sense of student initiative...and empowerment...that was very heady for the students and gave them the sense that they had some hand in their own education. That got watered down or lost." A program administrator added:

...as the program got older, it moved more toward the clinical side and less toward the political side. It partly has to do with the difference, I think, just in the political climate and the nature of the students. I mean, I don't think the University was really squashing it off particularly but by the time it got to IAC, maybe, it was some.... I mean, the SWOPSI people used to say though that they liked to be a thorn in the side of the University.... I think [over time] they were less cutting edge, [less] politically challenging.

Program Models

Various informants saw the models for SWOPSI and SCIRE as having been “homegrown” at Stanford, although a program administrator stated that she looked at both the Cornell Field Study Office and the National Society for Experiential Education for SCIRE program development and also sought input from community agencies. She added that they looked at the Peace Corps and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) models as how *not* to structure a program, since these programs often imposed solutions and service on communities without collaboration. The program staff at SCIRE wanted more of a reciprocal model where they worked with the community to determine their needs. She added “I wanted to avoid the feeling that...you were doing a service or a favor or bringing wisdom, learning to an organization by your presence. Service doesn’t really say that.” Although some SCIRE internships were in the private sector, the Program still operated under the philosophy of reciprocal community engagement.

Another program administrator said that Stanford’s reputation as a top university allowed SWOPSI to focus more on internal rather than external pressures:

I didn’t look at other models... I felt like this was Stanford, which is...enough of an institution to--I thought making it work within the context of Stanford which meant answering whomever were its detractors and legitimizing it over time. That’s what I wanted to do.

An administrator associated with IAC said that it was designed without much external influence and when he did look at other models, he saw IAC as “different.” He added that what Stanford was doing with the EDPs was “radical” in the eyes of its peer institutions.

When asked whether the EDPs were based on any specific models early on he answered:

No, because we were kind of at the forefront. The other Ivy League Schools were not doing...I mean, they were aghast. We would meet-- the Deans of Undergraduate Education or the Dean of the College...would meet, I think, it was every year. So, it was the Ivies plus Chicago, MIT and Stanford. And so, they were all facing the same student pressures and the same activism and desire to change the world and change the University but nobody went as far as Stanford in terms of having student-initiated programs. Well, you know, the Ivies thought, ‘well, you’re Stanford, you people do those kinds of things.’ So, I don’t think anybody was about to emulate what we were doing.

Organizational Structure

During this time period, the Director increased the staff and added a graduate student co-director to work with the undergraduate co-director. The graduate co-director was to work within the graduate student community to find colleagues doing scholarly work on political topics who might be interested in teaching IAC courses. According to a program administrator, when this happened, "the undergraduates had a lot less say in what was going on." He added:

...administratively, it makes sense to have a graduate co-director and, obviously, graduate co-directors could take a lot of the pressure off [the faculty director] in terms of course development and whatever but in terms of staying close to the undergraduate pulse, when you have half as much [undergraduate] student involvement and leadership, that dilutes it.

In terms of organizational structure, IAC was housed within Humanities & Sciences in an effort to institutionalize it. According to a program administrator:

...In fact the structuring of Innovative Academic Courses within H&S kind of gave it a safe--presumably--a safer home. It was supposed to institutionalize it and have it be part of these undergraduate services that were under the Dean of Undergraduate Studies.... The idea was that that was going to protect it and to preserve it. And that was my hope...that in fact, SWOPSI thrived and there were lots of courses and I got more funding for the Program over time.

Several informants felt that being housed in H&S left the program vulnerable because of the academic standards and expectations to which the Programs were held.

Instructors

One of the unique features of the SWOPSI courses was the often non-traditional credentials of course instructors. While an Academic Council member had to sponsor and oversee the course, it was usually taught by a graduate student or community member with subject matter expertise. When asked how the Program staff determined whether or not an instructor was "legitimate" to teach a particular course, a program administrator responded, "We didn't use credentials, you know, conventional academic credentials.... If this person was someone who was outside of the Stanford community I would interview that person, other people on the staff would interview that person and then the proposal generating process." He emphasized that the instructors had to demonstrate expertise through their course design and reading list.

One of the notable changes that occurred during the IAC years was increased funding, particularly for paying course instructors who before that time had volunteered to teach courses. Instructors were paid \$750 per course, which made the process more competitive, and would increase the quality of the courses, theoretically. Competition also meant that a number of proposed courses were not approved.

The issue of paying instructors was salient particularly for instructors from the community. An administrator recalled how he managed to secure additional funding for community instructors on the basis of quality assurance and greater equity between regular faculty and SWOPSI instructors:

I got \$2000 for people who were community activists... [One year we had a woman who was a muralist in the Mission District. She] was a wonderful woman and she made this nice proposal and it was accepted and she said, 'how much will I get paid?' And I said, '\$750.' And she said, 'Stanford?! It's such a wealthy institution.'... I wrote a letter to [the Dean]...this is a matter of...paying a respectable wage and...if we want to bring people of quality from the outside especially if we want to bring people who are community activists, we have to do better.... So I think there were one or two stipends at \$2000 per quarter.... Graduate students got \$1200 as a way of using that as another kind of funding.

The Beginning of the End of IAC

A program administrator reported that up until the early 1990s, he felt that IAC was "going well" and that "it was well-received." He described how the administration continued to support and fund the Program, and allowed the staff to hire a community activist from East Palo Alto as a way to maintain the Program's action orientation. A review of IAC in 1990, resulted in what was referred to as the Jones Report. This administrator added "...that review came out beautiful, it was just beautiful. But again...nothing would have been enough [to save the Program]."

In the early 1990s, the University entered a period of budget crises and H&S started reviewing all of its programs to see where recommendations could be made to cut costs. An administrator said that as a result of budget cutting the administration "basically removed the salaries for the [IAC] instructors. That was the first thing to go and they said, 'well, if you're not going to pay the instructors, then you're not going to really need to have a director anymore.'" Another administrator reflected on the process of trying to save IAC:

I made an effort to save IAC, of course, but it was a pretty dreadful process. You know, I went before various committees and talked about how we were run very efficiently and on a very tight budget and that undergraduates...were really getting a lot for the small expenditures on the part of H&S to fund this program.

In addition, he reported that a number of faculty were strong supporters of IAC and joined his efforts to maintain the Program:

There were faculty who were on the review committee...who were on the accreditation committee [who spoke out in support of IAC]. A lot of these people left [Stanford] and it's not a coincidence. It's a pattern.... I think it's not a coincidence because these are people who are radical thinkers...and they're in a controversial position in Stanford even though they have tenure. These were all tenured faculty who subsequently left probably for this reason.... They did not find Stanford a hospitable place over time or they got a better offer.... Faculty wrote letters. It was very hard...to fight this in the fall of...'91 because it was very hard to get information from the Deans. It was very hard to know what their timetable was.... I knew in the summer of '91 that IAC was on...the chopping block. I was told that and so I did what I could throughout that year....

Another program administrator described how some faculty and administrators remained skeptical about the Program. He said that some faculty and administrators felt that:

...as students are paying how much they're paying for a Stanford education, that they have a right to expect that they're going to be taught by people who have Stanford faculty quality credentials. And so there was definitely a question of, you know, the credentials of the people teaching the course. But I think it's the same quality issue that's been...there since [the 1970s]. And it just gave them, you know, one more ability to be able to do that. We're going to have to sort of clean up the image.

Around this time the Dean of Undergraduate Studies resigned and according to this administrator, the new Dean "didn't really have a great deal of familiarity with the programming. We needed somebody who was going to be a real advocate." When asked who put the program "on the chopping block," a program administrator responded:

I guess[it] was a bunch of deans and faculty and people who never liked it. The only reason I say that is those people surfaced and said, 'Hey! Here's a perfect occasion to get rid of this program which we wanted to get rid of in 1984 and 1970...all along the way.'

Another program administrator concurred:

Well, I think, that there was always residual resentment or concern about the program all the way along, which you can see historically was there; and, I think, at that point, they decided, well, if you're going to do it, let's just cut it off.

Several administrators talked about the lack of active student presence in the debate about closing IAC. One of them said:

You know and when there was the proposal to make UNGRASPEL [Undergraduate Special], the students rose up, had a funeral for undergraduate education in the inner quad.... But, there was real student bubble up and protest and involvement that led to the Committee on the Future of the Undergraduate Extradepartmental Programs. But when IAC was killed, I mean, there were some people who were upset but the grassroots core just wasn't there in the same way. They took it very much for granted [and] they were very passive about it. Because they didn't have as much personal investment in it.

Reflections on Institutionalization

A few administrators reflected on the circumstances that led to the demise of IAC and offered some ideas about how different structures might have lead to a different outcome. One program administrator reflected on IAC's location in H&S and how that put the program under tremendous scrutiny:

Maybe the problem was we shouldn't have been in H&S because to be in H&S...it meant that it had to answer to certain academic measures that, in fact, this kind of thing didn't answer to by some people's point of view.... It's a recipe for failure even though people were well-intended to put a program as controversial as this right in H&S, right? We're at Stanford, and Stanford is an elite institution...so how are you going to continually justify it?

He also raised the issue of Stanford's elite context as a factor in its sustainability. When asked where he thought IAC should have been placed structurally, he responded, "A free standing place such as the Public Service Center where experiential learning is funded as experiential learning and doesn't have to answer to all of these different kinds of criteria." He added, "And maybe...another way of thinking about it is that these things shouldn't get credit but that there should be a place for a kind of coherent experience and it should be called something else...."

A faculty member saw the departments as key to institutionalizing these kinds of experiences:

...that's why in spite of all you can say against departments, they do provide a long term structure.... People think in terms of departments and this causes people to make decisions of long term consequences and they're aware of it and they're sort of involved like being part of the University...within the University.... It's going to last a long time if you think of it as you're contributing to something of the future. These various extradepartmental structures don't have the same investment. And, of course, it's self-perpetuating. The course people don't invest in [it], they collapse.

In fact another administrator saw IAC as "successful" in that several of the EDP courses were adopted eventually by the departments and continued to be offered without any controversy. Looking at the evolution of SWOPSI over the course of its 20-year existence, he saw SWOPSI moving from the fringe closer into the academic realm, losing its radical edge along the way:

What happened was what we hoped would happen that over a period of time, the existence of these workshops--especially SWOPSI but also Undergraduate Special--that the faculty in the departments would gradually begin to add these programs to the regular curriculum. And, of course, 20 years later, such courses are taught as a standard kind of a thing in the curriculum and no big deal. A second reason for that is that the people who were graduate students in the late 1960's and the early 70's, as they came to the faculty, they began to offer those courses in the department. So, that's another way in which what was on the fringe and kind of radical became co-opted and institutionalized.

He added also that SWOPSI provided a more controlled outlet for students who were activists:

So, that's a place where, I think, those courses were very useful and, I think, there was some feeling at the time, which you probably picked up in some of the stuff that you've read that in a way--this was a good safety belt for them. They were able to have these kinds of courses and study these issues and intellectualize them and write reports that might have an impact say on the environment and smoking...then they wouldn't be plotting and burning down buildings and so on. So, there was that kind of thinking, I think, that didn't get always expressed but I think it was sort of there.

Not all informants saw this co-optation as "successful." One program administrator reflected:

The closer the programs get into the heart of the University and into the administration...those things which make them special and which give them the flexibility and the ability to be responsive, get limited and...clearly, you look at what happened subsequently, you know...a little bit tighter and a little bit tighter and a little more official and at the point when, by the time it became...IAC and they hired a Ph.D. director to direct it, and they started paying the instructors, it was to me--and this is my own personal feeling--but that it was sowing the seeds of its own destruction. Because as long as it's floating free of the University bureaucracy and, you know, that there is money to pay for paper and, of course, \$50 course material allowances or whatever, it's fine but when you start having a budget line and paying instructors, there's something then that's on the line that can be cut. And there's something that, in terms of the expectations of the institution of what you're going to get back for your investment, which made it more likely to be cut when it got to that point.

Leadership also seemed to be important to institutionalization, in retrospect. One administrator said that during President Kennedy's term, "there was a lot of room for experimentation and there was a lot of openness." There was a perception among faculty and administrators that some of the openness was lost during the subsequent administration. In addition to Presidential leadership, another administrator cited the history of the newly structured Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education's Office as influencing the evolution of SWOPSI and IAC. For several years, there was an Associate Dean in H&S with responsibility for undergraduate education. Eventually, this position was changed to Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education (VPUE). This program administrator said:

[The idea of establishing a VPUE is that you would have] more control...to be able to deal with undergraduate education across the University. But the problem was, that he was a Vice Provost with no appointment powers of any sort....

He added:

the bureaucracy of the Central Office ballooned mightily...and when there were the next big round of budget cuts and economic belt tightening that came around [in the early '90s], they said, 'oh no, this separate big Office of the Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education is too big and too much so what we're going to do then is we're going to collapse it down into the School of H&S....'

In addition, he believed that the context of the University had changed over the years:

I think, that the institution is harder to work with. In other words, you know, that SWOPSI was able to sort of carve out a place for themselves because the University wasn't necessarily that complex and not necessarily tracking everything quite as well. You know, that you could have something happening on the fringes but if you even think...of the other thing about 1985, that was the year of the first big Centennial Campaign. So, again, the University...how is the University representing itself to the community at large, to the community of donors? And whereas today I would think, you know, in the current Campaign for Undergraduate Education there would be a really good opportunity to solicit some of those people who were here in the '60s and '70s who are now grown up and have money, to be able to give money to a University that's willing to be that kind of flexible. I would suspect that if you were doing a campaign in the mid 1980's and you try to put yourself forward, that, you know, you don't want to have too many things out there on the fringes to upset your really conservative donors.

According to an administrator, there were several students who tried unsuccessfully over the years to revive SWOPSI but "they haven't been able to get critical mass." A program administrator said that a graduate student tried to write her honors thesis about SWOPSI and "ran into all kinds of problems." Although the Public Service Center absorbed some of these functions over time, the PSC staff distanced the Center from the EDPs intentionally because of their reputations.

ACTION RESEARCH LIAISON OFFICE (ARLO)

In the SWOPSI-SCIRE-ARLO nexus, we were kind of the 'well-scrubbed kid'
(Stanford Program Administrator).

Overview

The Action Research Liaison Office (ARLO) was a student-initiated, faculty-founded Program started in 1974. According to the Arrow Report, ARLO's charge was to "develop and implement off-campus research projects with local community agencies to be done by Stanford students under faculty supervision for academic credit" (Stanford University, 1984, p. 1). Students received credit for their action research projects through departments by finding faculty sponsors. Structurally, ARLO resided under the Vice Provost and Dean of Research until responsibility for the Program was transferred to Humanities & Sciences in 1982. Initially, the Program was staffed by two half-time co-directors.

ARLO was funded through resources from foundations and educational funding agencies. According to a program administrator, the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE) awarded the Program about \$100,000 for three years to pay for program staff and overhead. He reported that the Program relied on soft money because there was no long-term financial commitment from the University.

While technically not an Extradepartmental Program, ARLO was often associated with the EDPs for the purposes of evaluation and because they shared an experiential and community focus. This program administrator recalled that ARLO had good working relationships with SWOPSI and SCIRE and although they were happy to be associated with the EDPs, he stated that for internal political purposes the staff "could make a distinction when necessary" between ARLO and SWOPSI. Similarly, he reported good working relationships with the Undergraduate Research Opportunities Program, which was founded during the same year. In addition to ARLO's applied and community-based focus, it was distinguished from URO because both graduate and undergraduate students could participate in action research projects. In addition, ARLO staff and Advisory Board members stated that the Program differed from the EDPs in terms of academic legitimacy since credit was granted through departments. ARLO seemed to have a stronger reputation

than SWOPSI and SCIRE did. This program administrator recalled that “in the SWOPSI-SCIRE-ARLO nexus, we were kind of the ‘well-scrubbed kid.’”

Reflecting on the difficulties SWOPSI faced because of its radical, political nature, he said that ARLO staff wanted to “stay clear of those land mines” that SWOPSI had created for itself. Although he considered action research to be experiential and have social value, he and the rest of the staff defined that “from early on this is action research but it is solid research.” There were a few faculty dissenters who saw ARLO as less legitimate than traditional research, saying that action research was too applied and not theoretical enough; however, for the most part, faculty were supportive of ARLO. Since ARLO was not accredited, some students would seek faculty sponsorship for credit. One strategy the program staff used to get faculty engaged was to have an ARLO project as part of a class, whereby students could work in teams and each earn one to two credit hours. This program administrator remarked that it was significant to have well-regarded faculty sponsor ARLO projects.

Students and faculty from a variety of departments and disciplines participated in ARLO. Examples of projects included a mechanical engineering student who designed a more effective pitchfork. Students were engaged in a number of evaluation projects such as evaluating the impact of child care or the effectiveness of programs for prisoners. They also engaged in a variety of research projects related to public relations for non-profit organizations. Students completed between 300-400 projects per year.

The community was an important partner in making ARLO successful. ARLO staff would make contacts with community organizations letting them know that resources from the University were available if they had research projects that needed to be done. As ARLO’s community network expanded, community agencies would contact the ARLO staff to request help with particular projects. This program administrator recalled that the community was quite enthusiastic about the contributions students made to their organizations. In many cases, the students provided a service that would have required extensive resources had the organization hired an outside consultant. Although the staff felt that the overall quality of projects was good, quality would vary according to the type of supervision students received from their faculty advisor as well as the community sponsor.

The Elimination of ARLO

In 1984, the administration in Humanities and Sciences charged a committee with reviewing the operations of SCIRE, SWOPSI, URO, UGS, and ARLO. The review, which resulted in what was commonly referred to as the Arrow Report, was initiated because of faculty concerns about the academic quality of some of the programs. After it completed its review the Committee concluded that research experiences, including ARLO, were more time-consuming but not necessarily more difficult than regular courses. The Committee concluded that ARLO had a number of strengths, including strong, long-term relationships with community agencies and a good track record in raising money from local foundations. According to a memo from the ARLO Advisory Board (October 23, 1984), ARLO had raised over \$100,000 from the community during the period of 1979-1984. In addition, the Committee acknowledged that ARLO had some national visibility. However, they found that combining internships with the research requirements necessary to obtain academic credit was problematic. They added, "The faculty sponsors are not involved in the research project itself and therefore find it difficult and burdensome to impose appropriate intellectual standards" (Stanford University, 1984, p. 15). The Committee stated that in some cases, while students were engaged in experiences that helped them develop, the experiences were not "intellectual" enough to be worthy of academic credit. The Committee recommended:

A clearinghouse for all internships in community service, government agencies, and private enterprise should be established. It should include the existing facilities of ARLO and the internship activities of SCIRE, and the experiential activities of SWOPSI together with the proposed internship activities of the public service center now under consideration by the President's Office. The consolidation and restructuring of internships should remove duplication of services provided by current staff (Stanford University, 1984, p. 11).

The Committee also felt that some projects under the supervision of ARLO could have been administered through Undergraduate Research Opportunities (URO).

The ARLO Advisory Board noted numerous errors and omissions in the Arrow Report. The Board protested ARLO's impending closure and emphasized that during

1982-1984, over 1000 students were involved in ARLO activities. The structure, which included a staff member and use of student volunteers and work-study students, made the Program very cost-effective, according to an ARLO Advisory Board memo dated October 23, 1984. The Board pointed out that the statistical analysis the Committee used to make negative comments about academic rigor were unsubstantiated. Concerned about the proposed elimination, Board members noted the tremendous social service that students provided through ARLO citing an award-winning recycling program at the Palo Alto dump as one example. They felt that its closure was difficult to understand given President Kennedy's strong commitment to fostering public service on campus, adding that "ARLO is clearly the largest generator of public service work on campus" (ARLO Advisory Board, 1984, p. 2).

When ARLO was closed in 1985, the administration assumed that some of its functions would be absorbed by the newly formed Public Service Center. However, the PSC staff described how during the early years, they distanced themselves explicitly from SWOPSI, SCIRE and ARLO because of the fallout from the Arrow Report. These dynamics are discussed in more detail in the Public Service Center section.

UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH PROGRAMS (URP)

Stanford is trying to define the benefits of being at Stanford--at a research university--in distinction, for example, [from] the benefits of being at a liberal arts college. What can Stanford or another research university deliver that no one else can? Well, it's access to this process of creating new knowledge (Stanford Administrator).

The Office of Undergraduate Research Programs⁷ at Stanford provided grants directly to students, through the Undergraduate Research Opportunities (URO) Office, to support research projects that they designed with faculty sponsorship. URP also provided funds to faculty, departments and research centers to support undergraduates who worked on a faculty member's research project or team. Undergraduate research was significant to the Stanford case study since informants described it as experiential learning that was aligned directly with the University's research mission. Informants added, however, that while they considered research to be experiential, they did not use that language to describe their programs. Choice of language was central to understanding the purposes and legitimacy of different forms of experiential learning; and differences in use of language were particularly distinct when informants talked about undergraduate research. In addition, undergraduate research became an institutional priority at Stanford, which made it more likely for URP to continue to receive support, both philosophically and financially, from the administration.

As stated in the latest URP brochure, Stanford offered undergraduate research programs because: "Inquiry, investigation, and discovery are at the heart of Stanford's mission. Opportunities for discovery begin in the classroom and extend into the rich research life of campus laboratories, libraries, studios, and beyond" (p. 3). Bringing education outside the classroom was valued in this context, as one administrator explained:

Courses help students absorb the existing knowledge in the field. But when they undertake a research project, they identify one question or issue or problem that intrigues them beyond anything they have encountered before. Research allows them to personalize their education and take it beyond the limits of the classroom.

(www.stanford.edu/home/students/parents/newsletter/spring02/research.htm).

⁷ The Undergraduate Research Programs Office was created in 2000 and became the umbrella organization for Undergraduate Research Opportunities and other research programs for undergraduates.

Another purpose of the Program was to provide opportunities for students to explore whether or not they wanted to pursue research-oriented careers or graduate school after graduation. However, an administrator said, "I tend to think [the students] are too careerist already and so I try not to reinforce that...because of the price of a Stanford education, they feel very utilitarian about it." When asked what he told students the goals of undergraduate research were, he added: "It's for them to become creators of new knowledge rather than just sponges sucking up all the old knowledge that the faculty have been creating since year one." Another administrator added that the specific goals of undergraduate research were:

One is just the plain experience of working closely with a mentor...learning how an economist thinks. Learning how a mathematician thinks. Learning the practices, the methodologies of a field in ways that you wouldn't learn necessarily in a large classroom. A second benefit...is just that whole question of allowing undergraduates to investigate a field in its day to day practices, the reality of the field in ways that you don't get in the classroom and we hope it's helping students to make decisions about going on into a Ph.D. program.... A third benefit...it's a little less specific...undertaking a more or less independent research project...something that's not defined by an assignment or a test at the end develops habits of mind that we think should be developed in a liberal arts education...practice in thinking analytically.... Understanding the way that knowledge is created and participating in that creation of knowledge actively.

Origins of URO and URP

Stanford first centralized undergraduate research on campus in 1974 when it created the Undergraduate Research Opportunities (URO) Program, which became part of Undergraduate Research Programs in 2000. A program administrator stated that URO was modeled directly on MIT's Undergraduate Research Opportunities Program (UROP) and that the administration consulted with MIT's Provost at the time, who helped start UROP there. When asked how closely URO was modeled on MIT's Program, he replied, "Pretty closely. I mean, basically, when we started the Program, we got all of the documentation from UROP." Stanford's Dean of Earth Sciences at the time also served both on the Board of Overseers at MIT and on Stanford's Committee for the Centennial Campaign in 1986. This program administrator stated that the Dean was very interested in creating a substantive research program for undergraduates like the one that MIT had; he was influential in making sure that undergraduate research was made a priority in the

Centennial Campaign. Undergraduate research was slotted for \$15 million in the Campaign in order to provide grants to students.

URO was started under the supervision of the Assistant Dean for Undergraduate Studies, who, according to this administrator, had leeway with regard to experimenting with educational innovations. As a first step in developing the program, the staff sent out a questionnaire to all 1400 faculty in 1974 asking them whether or not they would participate in such a program if it became available. The questionnaire asked faculty to respond to whether they would involve undergraduates in research in exchange for credit or pay. According to this program administrator, 400 of the questionnaires were returned. He discussed how the Program evolved from that point:

...A lot of [faculty] said that they had some students in their lab or that they would be really enthusiastic about doing it. So, based on that response we then contacted the people who sent in friendly replies and said, 'Okay. We don't have any money but if you'd like to list projects in exchange for credit or if you have money in your own grant that you'd like to pay people with, please fill out this yellow form and sent it back to us and we'll start posting listings.' And so it was done on a shoestring.

While most faculty responses to the questionnaire were enthusiastic, there was some resistance. He recalled how an English professor responded:

And her response was, 'you shouldn't be doing this! The students are here at Stanford to be learning the wisdom that the faculty have been learning through the ages and are supposed to communicate to them and it's ridiculous to have them do other stuff than learning what is the mainstream university curriculum. I'm not going to participate in this!'

He added that those kinds of responses were rare today and that faculty from various departments across the University involved students in their research on a regular basis. When asked what had changed for faculty over the past 20 years, he responded: "I think the way that Stanford views a university education [has changed]. That, yes, the classics are important but...it's really assembling an intellectual tool kit while you're at the University." He stated that the notion of an intellectual tool kit moved to the forefront of the University over the past five years; however, students could sometimes be resistant to that concept "because the students are really anxious to have a practical education.... I say to them...'this intellectual tool kit is much more important than the facts you are accumulating.'"

URO operated as a small-scale initiative until 1984 when the Arrow Report Committee⁸ recommended that the University provide an infrastructure to encourage more undergraduates to engage in research. The Arrow Committee recommended that Stanford appoint someone full time to direct URO and provided funding to give students grants to conduct research. When asked about the expansion of URO, an administrator said:

It was a question that it was viewed that URO was a really good idea and that...at a research university, this is the right thing to be doing and if you're going to do it right, then you've got to have enough staff to make it really work rather than to do it 25% time, which basically means only being able to post some [research opportunities] listings.

He added that when the University started providing grants, the Program needed to have proper administration. At this time, URO also moved into the recently constructed Sweet Hall, which was the first building at Stanford dedicated primarily to undergraduate education.

When the Program expanded in 1984 with significant resources, students received money specifically for research expenses, not for salary or stipends. During the 1984-1985 academic year, URO funded a total of 72 grants, a majority of which were small grants usually for the amount of \$500. Students received \$2500 for major grants.

Another administrator, commenting on the Program's growth, reported that for the last "five or six years we've greatly expanded the resource base" in that they funded undergraduate research at three levels: students, faculty and groups of faculty via departments and research centers. When asked about the impetus behind the more recent increase in resource allocation for undergraduate research she replied that several administrators felt strongly about prioritizing undergraduate research and increasing interactions between faculty and students,

...because I know well the limits to what can be learned in a classroom or seminar setting with even the most gifted teachers.... It speaks directly to what a place like Stanford does, which is create new knowledge and it's probably the best venue for developing mentoring relationships between faculty and students, which is difficult in a class, especially in a large class.

⁸ See the section on EDPs for a discussion of the Arrow Committee, which was charged with reviewing the EDPs in 1983.

As URP grew, its staff came to view undergraduate research as a developmental process and developed initiatives throughout a student's experience at Stanford, starting with Stanford Introductory Seminar in the freshman year, which introduced students to a discipline and its research methods. URP offered several different grants, scholarships and fellowships for which students could apply and after their senior year, the URP staff even assisted students with applications for graduate school. URP staff believed that students should become engaged with undergraduate research by sophomore year at the latest to take full advantage of the developmentally appropriate range of opportunities available.

Support from the Administration

Support from the administration was important to growing the URP infrastructure. The growth of URP coincided with the development of the Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education Office, under which URP was located. This administrator added that the President was central in supporting undergraduate research starting with the Commission on Undergraduate Education in 1993-1994:

So Gerhard [Casper] really gets the credit for being the prime mover and motivating us and making this happen.... It was clear that he had decided that this was going to be the major mark of his presidency and that created this office [VPUE] and we're in this billion dollar campaign now, which is ...Campaign for Undergraduate Education.

In general, the administration was supportive of undergraduate research over approximately the past 20 years. She added that, "A succession of Presidents and this President and Provost [are] extremely supportive...this is a big priority for them too."

Another administrator stated that over the past decade the University "wanted to target the next area for enhancement and expansion in undergraduate education." The idea behind expanding the URO, which were student-initiated projects, to faculty and departments was to create a stronger link between faculty and students. While programs such as the Freshman and Sophomore Seminars focused on the first two years of undergraduate education, the administration wanted to focus the advanced years on research and honor's theses. When asked why research was targeted specifically, she added:

Stanford is trying to define the benefits of being at Stanford at a research university in distinction, for example, [from] the benefits of being at a liberal arts college. What can Stanford or another research university

deliver that no one else can? Well, it's access to this process of creating new knowledge. The sort of rhetoric surrounding that, which came originally from Gerhard Casper, the former President, was that undergraduates, graduate students and faculty members would become, to a certain extent, equal partners in the search for new knowledge....

In 2002, URP provided 83 grants to faculty members and 32 grants to departments and research centers. Each of those grants went to sponsor one or more students as research assistants. Around 200 faculty members were engaged in research with students through these grants. Some departmental grants were relatively large; grants to electrical engineering and computer science departments provided funding for about 30 faculty members each. In terms of future growth an administrator stated that while typically about 25 to 30% of undergraduates completed an honor's thesis, the URP wanted to increase that statistic to 50%.

Distinguishing Research from Other Experiential Practices

Overall, administrators were careful to distinguish undergraduate research from other forms of experiential learning such as: 1. the kind of research that happened through the Action Research Liaison Office⁹ (ARLO); 2. internships that were made available through the Career Center; and 3. public service experiences that were developed through the Haas Center for Public Service. One program administrator described the difference between URP and ARLO simply as URP occurred on campus and ARLO had occurred off-campus. In addition, the purpose of URP was to broker relationships between faculty and students whereas ARLO had sought to bring students, faculty and community members together to conduct research that met community needs. Field sites for ARLO were all non-profit; and internships, such as those available through the Career Center, were distinguished as occurring in the private sector. Throughout much of the URP literature, the Program staff members made a clear distinction between research and internships:

As a rule, URP student grants are not intended to provide support for paid or unpaid students involved in internships. The preferred model for combining research and internship is to begin the research after the formal internship assignment has ended, but making arrangements during the internship to use the resources of the field placement for research (Stanford University URP brochure, 2002).

⁹ ARLO was described in detail earlier in this chapter.

A program administrator discussed how the University centralized off-campus placements for various programs and centers on a database; however, the Programs stopped centralizing their placements in the late 1990s after collaborating for 15 years:

And then what happened was, the Career Development Center decided that they would rather put their stuff into something like Job Track or Monster Track...and I didn't want to put the research opportunities in there because I had been trying to protect them just for current Stanford undergraduates and Haas Center has been doing their own thing. So we sort of...split up...[but before that] we all had a common database and a common search language and that then people could put stuff so that it was centralized.

When asked about the extent to which he considered participation in URO to be experiential, this program administrator replied: "Totally! Obviously! ...There is one track which is students working with faculty in labs and I don't think you would probably call that experiential learning.... But then people doing field work...going out and living with the community and studying the community...."

When asked about what language was used to describe undergraduate research, another administrator replied that they did not really use the term "experiential learning." He added that in general he referred to field-based activities in the following way:

I would say a 'field study class' or if I had to give it a title I would probably say 'field study' or something like that. In more colloquial speech, I might say to somebody--well, 'away from class,' or I might refer to one of our overseas campuses or Stanford in Washington or internship or something like that.... Although it still is not a common phrase, 'service-learning' would be something that they would be more familiar with than 'experiential learning,' which I know is a subset.

Another administrator described a general hesitancy toward using certain terms:

I've called [undergraduate research 'experiential learning'] in different contexts but we don't use that language in anything that we do.... We don't call it experiential learning.... I think that at Stanford there is often a hesitancy to use the popular terms in higher ed and in education in general.

She recalled a conversation she had with another administrator who was learning about service-learning. She said,

And it's not that he doesn't think service-learning is a good thing, but he had this almost allergic reaction to using the term.... So the whole

experiential learning term almost never comes up in conversations that we have in the VPUE's office.... I believe that [experiential learning is what we're doing] although it's definitely different than some examples of experiential learning that I've seen....

As an example, she recalled a day-long colloquium on experiential learning she attended at the Haas Center with teachers and faculty from around the Bay Area. "And some of the people heard what my office does--[undergraduate research]--and why I was there and they said, 'this is way out there! This isn't really how we define experiential learning.' So I'm very cautious with the term." When asked why she thought the other participants viewed undergraduate research differently she responded that they saw it as distant from the curriculum, despite the fact that students could get academic credit for most undergraduate research. When asked about resistance to using experiential learning, she added the following about elite institutions in general:

Well, let me say that I've attended a couple of meetings of Ivy Deans...at Ivy League institutions plus Stanford, MIT and University of Chicago. They get together once a year and I was struck by a little bit of an attitude of 'well, we are really what's defining excellence and we're a little bit immune to the trends of higher education although we feel like we're probably setting some of those trends and we're tuned into them but we don't really operate in those terms.' There's a little bit of a deeper tradition that's developing there.

She added that Stanford's context was unique in that it tended to be more entrepreneurial than many of the other elite institutions: "Stanford is actually an incredibly innovative place and there's a sense of...creativity and entrepreneurship here that I *never* felt at [the Ivy League institution from which I came]." She believed that Stanford was more open to considering educational practices outside of the classroom than many of its peer institutions.

When asked what role, if any, public service played in undergraduate research, another program administrator replied:

I wouldn't say it's peripheral but we do maintain a distinction because we don't support people on internships and we also worry that when people are doing public service that they have a point of view already. And that, also they're doing what the organization expects of them. And so we say to them, you know, if you want to combine work and public service with research, then you have to be able to understand how to be a participant observer and how you are going to separate yourself out and how do you

do a critical evaluation of what it is that you're studying. It's like...there can be research in public service but public service doesn't necessarily always equate with research....

He did, however, describe how public service was sometimes interwoven with undergraduate research, particularly through public service fellowships. He told of one student working down in Mexico on service projects who discovered that women there had a high number of babies with neural tube defects because of a lack of folic acid in their diets. She discovered that certain seeds, which were plentiful in Mexico, contained folic acid; and she started teaching women in communities how to bake cookies with these seeds in them to add folic acid back into their diets. He stated that as a result of this student's research:

The neural tube defects in these communities are going down. And she has gotten cooperation from the Mexican Government so they are implementing these programs around there and she's down there this summer with a whole horde of volunteers and, hopefully, by next summer will be able to walk away from it and know that the Mexican Government is going to maintain it themselves. And so this is her honor's thesis. It's her public service...it's this whole thing that's kind of woven together.

He cited another example of a student project to describe how integrating public service with research sometimes created certain expectations about how data was to be gathered and what, if any, expectations there were to give something back to the community:

I had an example very recently with a Professor who is sponsoring a student who is doing research down in Mexico and she expressed concern to the student because the student was asking all these questions and sort of extracting from the community and I saw this email where the Professor said, 'remember we talked about when you go down there that you might offer English lessons or babysitting or whatever it is so that there is that kind of reciprocal nature to the work of what you're doing.' And I think that there is a sense of the value and the need for that kind of reciprocity when people are doing stuff in a community.

Although concerns about reciprocity and sensitivity in communities were not addressed explicitly in any of the proposal protocols, a program administrator reported that some concerns were addressed in the human subjects review process for student research proposals. Faculty who reviewed proposals and supervised projects also addressed such concerns on an informal and individual basis; however, many of the concerns related to

methodology. Over the past year, faculty raised concerns about students' lack of preparation to go into the field and conduct field research:

...You can't really legislate it but it's something that we look at and the faculty are certainly concerned about--to the extent that I actually got a whole bunch of people who called me this Spring. We're talking like 10 or 12 faculty conversations that I've had about the need for providing better pre-field work methodology when people are getting ready to go out and do this sort of thing because it's something that is not in the curriculum right now...and when there were fewer students who were doing this kind of work, it wasn't so important because the people who were doing it were like the cream of the crop who were working very closely under the supervision of their faculty....

When asked specifically about the extent to which public service was integral to URO and URP, this program administrator responded: "...it's not necessarily an expectation. It's actually sometimes a problem...because sometimes people have unpaid internships and they think we'll give them grants to support their unpaid internships and that's something that we don't do." The rationale for separating internships from research was explained further as a potential conflict of interest. The Program staff felt that an organization had certain expectations for a student doing an internship that might compromise a research project.

Public Scholarship Initiatives

The Public Scholarship Initiatives Program was created in 2001 in partnership with the Haas Center for Public Service. After submitting a proposal for a VPUE departmental grant, the Haas Center was awarded approximately \$50,000, despite the fact that it was not a department. An administrator described how this unusual circumstance was the result of the Haas Center's location in Stanford's organizational structure: "I mean the Haas Center is not part of VPUE--it's part of VPSA [Vice Provost for Student Affairs] and so...they were coming to [VPUE] because they couldn't get enough funding from VPSA." The Haas Center staff made this request because they were the main enterprise on campus that supported public service and they wanted to find ways to engage faculty and students across the campus. Another administrator added:

It's different from the other programs that we fund in its emphasis on putting research and scholarship to the public good and thinking of scholarship as something that's engaged rather than something that serves only--when I say engaged, I mean politically engaged or socially engaged

for the public good rather than something that exists solely for the kind of more intangible and also good goal of advancing knowledge.... It's not like...basic research, it's engaged research.

When asked how the Haas Center's proposal was received, this administrator responded:

With a little bit of skepticism, actually. It wasn't clear to the faculty on the Undergraduate Advisory Council exactly where the line is drawn between volunteerism and the research they are proposing. And there were some questions that were raised about whether the research was really research or was this volunteerism with a little bit of scholarship mixed in. *But*, they supported the idea and thought, well, let's do this as a pilot and see what comes out of it. So, we'll assess in another year.

She added that the proposal committee had a difficult time envisioning what public scholarship would look like. When asked how she distinguished public scholarship from the other programs, she replied:

I think I have a much more liberal definition than a lot of people would. I think that any scholarship that sees part of its outcome as...having a much more direct impact on the public good is what I would call public scholarship. And it is legitimate scholarship. It's scholarship just as any other--it's just not knowledge for knowledge sake, it's knowledge for a much more immediate kind of benefit to society's sake. Now other people feel like that's not what we're doing here at Stanford. We are a research university. This is a serious research endeavor--that's fluff, you know? That would be the other extreme and I've heard some people express that opinion.

She explained that service-based research was viewed sometimes as not "legitimate" scholarship by faculty. When asked about VPUE's responsibility to encourage public scholarship, she added:

The VPUE as an organization definitely sees the value in it but I think that it's not seen as something that...should be logically at the center of Academic Affairs, which is how the VPUE identifies itself.... It's seen as slightly peripheral. 'It's not quite as academic as the other stuff we do' is sort of the attitude.

An issue related to public service-related research was the extent to which students engaged and were allowed to engage in activist-oriented research. Two administrators had different perspectives on the extent to which activism was sanctioned within URP. One said:

I can't recall that that's ever been an issue even with some fairly activist kinds of things because the backdrop is very different. The campus is not on fire, windows are not getting smashed, right?.... And so we funded some pretty radical things. Oh, definitely.

He added, however, that the extent to which students were allowed to engage in activism was dependent on the external environment, particularly the political climate. Another administrator felt that the University gave some lip service to promoting student activism, particularly if the activism was about campus issues:

People definitely talk about students need to leave a liberal arts education with an awareness of how their actions are going to affect society at large and with a sense of what it means to be a good citizen. But...I think the University fudges on this all of the time because they support that idea and then on the other hand, if students start to militate for, you know, labor rights that are going to affect the bargaining units of campus--Whoa! We've got a problem!

Faculty and Incentives

Faculty response to URP offerings were positive overall. According to one administrator: "Faculty and departments are generally very, very thrilled to have that resource... They appreciate having resources to keep students here over the summer as research assistants earlier in their undergraduate careers...." She added that some faculty also liked the increased interaction they had with students and other faculty through some of the programming the URP offered such as researcher luncheons in the Honors Programs. When asked how the URP recruited faculty, another administrator replied, "...they kind of come to us because we have the money." The former administrator stated that resources were an important incentive; however, at certain points in history the administration questioned whether faculty should be compensated for working with undergraduates:

There was a review of undergraduate research programs by the School of H&S curriculum committee about six or seven years ago and part of the results of that committee's discussion was what I call the 'no more marshmallows decision.' And 'no more marshmallows' means that those \$500 little mini grants for faculty for appreciation of sponsoring major grant winners was removed and they said, 'this is part of the faculty member's responsibility to mentor undergraduates who are doing honor's thesis so they shouldn't get extra compensation for it.' The interesting thing that I see is that there is a real push-pull between the focus on what is available for faculty expertise and time outside of their regular

departmental teaching load for the young students or for the older students.

Despite the debates about faculty responsibilities, he elaborated on how involvement with undergraduate research had the potential to burden an already overloaded faculty. This commitment meant that some faculty placed limits on their participation, sometimes leaving students struggling to find faculty sponsors:

Teaching a sophomore seminar is an add on to your course load and you get extra pay for it and there's no incentive right now for honors and the upper level stuff. And that's a worry that I have. I mean, so far people mostly are doing okay but there are people who have trouble finding a sponsor and that's one of the reasons some projects don't go through.

For example, there was an increasing number of students interested in research on Latin America; however, there were few faculty who were available to work with students on this topic area. As a result, those faculty received an inordinate number of requests to sponsor Latin American research. Particularly among younger faculty, there was pressure to participate and they usually wanted to; however, it was potentially detrimental to their careers. An administrator stated, "...there's a pattern of the people who are the most accessible, the most helpful, not getting tenure."

In addition to the benefit of financial and human resources, some faculty participated because of the opportunity to mentor students. A program administrator recalled a conversation she had with a faculty member:

He talks about how the research he's doing now is going to become obsolete in 20 years even though it's cutting edge right now. He knows that in 15 or 20 years, it's going to be all rewritten--it's just the nature of scientific research. But he said what isn't going to be rewritten or will never go away is the effect that he can potentially have on young people's lives and mentoring relationships and he values that above anything else and feels like that's why we're here.

She added that some faculty see themselves as gatekeepers of their professions and mentors of the next researchers in their fields.

Students as Researchers

According to one administrator, grants were distributed to students fairly evenly across all majors; however, history tended to be over-represented and psychology, political science and economics tended to be under-represented. Many of the psychology students

were student-athletes who maintained schedules that did not permit them to engage in research easily. He added that the economics students, for the most part, tended to be career-oriented and not particularly research-oriented. The extent to which projects were student-initiated varied by discipline. Another administrator said that in the natural sciences and engineering most research projects tended to be faculty-initiated and defined. However, in humanities, social sciences, and creative arts, projects tended to be more student-initiated. The addition of faculty and departmental grants served to provide more guidance for undergraduates from faculty "so that they're a little better anchored in the practices of the field." She added that these concerns about closer faculty and student interaction were less about the quality of the students' projects and more about the quality and intensity of the mentoring that students were getting from faculty.

An administrator reported that over the years undergraduate research itself became more sophisticated. It also became less elite and available to a larger pool of students, to the extent that students expected to receive a grant:

Certainly when we started off...it was really sort of the *crème de la crème* that were doing independent stuff and getting funded to do it. I think we've moved much more to a sense of entitlement that people figure they're going to get their URO grant some time before they graduate....

Another administrator said that the Program had high expectations about the kind of work that students would do and the products they would produce:

We're looking for evidence of close faculty oversight and mentorship....
We're looking for engagement of the student in not just menial tasks...but more open-ended, demanding, higher level thinking tasks. We're looking for some sort of tangible product on the part of the student so a report or proposal for an honor's thesis or an oral presentation....

While the focus of URP was generally on how research benefits students, the administration believed that undergraduates engaged in research could make significant scholarly contributions:

There is no question that Stanford undergraduates are helping redefine what we know in every discipline: whether it is a new invention in engineering, a new set of paintings or texts in the humanities or a new approach to a dramatic production

(www.stanford.edu/home/students/parents/newsletter/spring02/research.htm).

Another administrator pointed out an often overlooked benefit of URP to undergraduates: “I think that’s one of the things that I haven’t even touched on that’s been real important to me, and I think really important at Stanford and that is how these kinds of programs have extra benefit and extra value for students from the communities of color.” He elaborated how students of color benefited from these opportunities:

...I think, this is why there’s a parallel between like SWOPSI and undergraduate research is for people whose interests are on the marginality of academia to feel that there is just as much validity in studying those kinds of things which relate to their own lives and the people with whom they are connected and that you can use the same tools from the University.

This program administrator also spoke about a perceived shift in students’ attitudes towards their education over time. He perceived today’s students to be much more concerned about a practical education:

[What] is very different from say, students 25 years ago, is that they’re looking much more for a practical education. You know, they’re paying so much money for Stanford tuition and they want to know how they’re going to be able to make money and pay it back and be instantaneously active in the world beyond.

He was quick to add that undergraduate research was much more than providing a practical education. It also provided students with critical thinking skills that were more abstract and would transcend content-specific knowledge that might have a short shelf-life. This shift in attitude pointed to some tension between students’ motivations for participating and the University’s goals for student participation. He quoted a faculty member who said, “You may gain more facts in the 15 units of coursework but you’ll gain more wisdom in the thesis itself.”

Student Grants Through URO

Students, faculty, and departments could all apply for funding through URP grants. Students in any major with good academic standing could apply for either a URO major grant, which provided up to \$3000 for up to three quarters or a small grant, which provided

\$500 for one quarter. Juniors and seniors who received a major grant had to be enrolled in an honors program. Students' proposals were evaluated by a committee comprised of faculty from different disciplines.

The purpose of URO major grants, according to the URP brochure was to fund: "...projects extending over three academic quarters...prior to graduation and reflecting the highest levels of creativity, independence, and promise of exciting results" (p.21). The small grants were available for smaller scale research projects. Student grants were different from faculty or department grants in that students could develop their own research projects with faculty sponsorship instead of working directly on a faculty member's project. According to an administrator, the Program expected that most of the projects would be turned into honors theses. Funding for both small and major grants covered research expenses such as research-related travel, document reproduction, minor equipment and compensation of human subjects. Grants did not pay for stipends, salaries, or tuition for students. Other grants were available to undergraduates, but were more specialized such as the Stanford Overseas Center Research Grants for those studying abroad, the Chappell-Lougee Scholarships for those in humanities and social sciences, and the Mellon Minority Undergraduate Fellowship for minority students in Humanities interested in pursuing a PhD or career in college teaching. Some of the specialized fellowships and grants also provided for some student loan repayment.

During 2002, 528 students applied to URO for approximately \$750,000 available in grants. The following were examples of research expenses funded by student grants (URP brochure, p. 13):

- Travel to Tibet to examine the architecture of Buddhist temples.
- Data loggers to record energy use in public housing in Santiago, Chile.
- Development of a computer system that can translate colors into sounds.
- Travel to Croatia to interview members of the government on the Balkan conflict.
- Payments to subjects for a psychological study of recently disabled young people.

The President's Scholars Program was a special program located within URO that provided \$3000 Intellectual Exploration Grants to students to cover research-related

expenses. The Program, according to one program administrator, "is an Admissions Office Program to benefit students who have high research experience coming in and these students are designated as part of the Admission Office procedures." The Program brochure stated that the grants were awarded to freshmen "on the basis of academic promise and intellectual vitality." Furthermore, the grants were to "...help you begin to develop your intellectual capabilities as well as foster your interactions with our faculty." Students were open to explore any area of study that interested them and had to provide some end-product that demonstrated their accomplishments, such as a report, poster, photo exhibit, slide show, dance performance, website, etc.

The Program, which was created in 1996, admitted 92 Scholars in 2002, who all received Intellectual Exploration Grants. The students participated in special programs such as lunches with faculty, tours of the archives, and dinner with the President. Despite being designated as a President's Scholar, students still had to write a research proposal, get human subjects approval (if relevant) and find a faculty sponsor.

According to a program administrator, the Program was linked with the Admissions Office and was started during a time when Stanford had concerns about staying competitive with peer institutions. He stated that the administration was not as concerned about competition currently because of the increasing number of very well-qualified applicants over the past few years. He reported that the President's Scholars awards would not be offered for 2003 because there was not a perceived need to do so from an admissions standpoint. In addition, "We've got a new President and we've got a new Dean of Admissions, and they have different ways of looking at things." It was unclear whether or not the Program would continue; however, the administration was committed to supporting the students who had been admitted to the Program during the past four years.

The President's Scholars Program had an historical predecessor called the Jordan Scholars Program. The program administrator described how the Jordan Scholars Program evolved and was shut down because some perceived it as too exclusive:

The interesting thing of it is if you look at it historically...they tried this thing that they called the Jordan Scholars Program, which they announced was going to be something to sort of recognize the cream of the crop of the incoming class and there was a big stink on campus about it because...Stanford likes and has always been--it's like once you get here, everybody is equal. All Stanford people are created equal and there are

not some people who are more equal than others because they were fancy and went to a fancier high school and did more research or whatever. So you can read some really interesting articles in the *Stanford Daily* at the point when this Jordan Scholars thing was created because it was considered to be too elitist for Stanford.... It was a very awkward thing and they dropped it.... And then the mood changed and...so when Gerhard Casper came here they did it again [with the President's Scholars].

He added that the tensions around such an initiative lessened as research funding for undergraduates increased, "which is also one of the reasons why they may not be continuing the [President's Scholars] Program because there's plenty of money for everybody. But when we started the Program seven years ago, there weren't all these VPUE and department grants."

As the URP grew in terms of resources over the past few years the staff started helping students apply for national fellowships because, according to this program administrator, President Casper felt that "Stanford was not being competitive enough in terms of its students winning a lot of these national, prestigious fellowships. And a point in fact, the people who are likeliest to win national, prestigious fellowships are undergraduates who have done undergraduate research."

While honors theses were seen as a way to evaluate the effectiveness of student grants, an administrator noted that URP needed to collect evaluation data on the faculty and department grants more systematically and centrally. The only form of evaluation URP had created was an informal assessment made by faculty if they wanted to reapply for funding the following year. An administrator had the following concerns about the quality of experience for students:

This is one of the big challenges that [the Director of URP] has right now that the Undergraduate Advisory Council is looking at. How do you monitor that kind of participation? How do you make sure that the students are not going to be exploited because that's been sort of the thing all the way along the way...if you look at some of the early URO brochures...it's like the student is not meant to be just another pair of hands doing menial and mechanical work.... This is not about exploiting the students and there are some times, I think, maybe people aren't worrying about that enough any more these days but we worried about it a lot when the Program got started and...the faculty are trusted that they will teach something that is curricularly rigorous. At the same time, I think, there's a lot of trust the faculty are not exploiting students.

He added that URP did not have adequate staffing to evaluate students' experiences regularly, outside of the evaluative summaries that students wrote based on their experiences. He added, however, that most students had extremely positive experiences with URP and for "nine out of ten, they say, this made my undergraduate experience...."

VPUE Departmental Grants

The Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education (VPUE) Departmental Grants for Undergraduate Research provided funding to departments and research centers so that undergraduates could become part of a community of researchers committed to cutting-edge research (URP brochure, 2002). Funding allowed departments and centers to enable students to undertake independent research projects or honors theses during the advanced years. Typically students worked with a faculty mentor who had similar research interests on an ongoing project that the faculty member was heading. Departments sometimes offered special programming to their undergraduate researchers such as weekly seminars on research methods or field trips to relevant research sites. Several departments had formal departmental research programs, including: the Department of Biological Sciences' Field Studies Program, Electrical Engineering's Research Experiences for Undergraduates, the Drama program in research and practical theater, the summer Honors Training Program in Economics and the Physics Department Summer Research Program (Stanford University URP brochure, 2002).

VPUE Faculty Grants

The VPUE Faculty Grants for Undergraduate Research Program allowed individual faculty members to apply for grants to support collaboration with undergraduates on research projects. In addition, "The program also aims to provide a bridge between introductory coursework and more advanced independent study during the junior and senior years" (www.stanford.edu/dept/undergrad/urp/FacView/fg_programgoals.html). Students worked as research assistants on faculty members' ongoing projects and received a stipend or hourly wage. Faculty could also use funds to take students to research conferences or research-related sites. The Program specified that students could not be paid *and* receive credit for their work on research projects. Examples of faculty grant projects included a faculty member who engaged students to participate in "a major

language study of the Spanish language needs of Latino professionals in California” (Stanford University URP Brochure, 2002, p. 12). Another faculty member engaged mechanical engineering students in a project “to evaluate automobile traction using a Mercedes-Benz test vehicle and Global Positioning System satellites” (p. 12).

The University also sponsored an eight to ten week residential program called The Summer Research College (SRC). The purpose of SRC was to “foster close intellectual and social contact among students and faculty in an interdisciplinary, residential community” (p. 12) among students and faculty collaborating in departmental or faculty research programs. Students were immersed in research work during this short term and engaged closely with faculty in interdisciplinary settings and within academic, social, and cultural contexts. According to an administrator, there were approximately 230 students enrolled in SRC during the summer of 2002.

Program Models

While URO was modeled very closely on the UROP at MIT, the addition of the faculty and department grant programs to the model was more organic. One administrator said:

I don't know of anything at other institutions [like this] and in fact whenever we present the faculty and the departmental grants to other institutions, their response is 'Huh! That's an interesting approach....' But there were a couple of departments here that had piloted programs and one was Chemistry. They had a Summer Undergraduate Research Intern Program for a couple of years.... Physics was an early one...and I think that those probably grew out of interests on the part of big national funding agencies like NSF...those kinds of places that now have very clear mandates that grant recipients should include undergraduates in their research groups. So, it's probably an early permutation of that. But I know that in Chemistry, especially, the...faculty recognize that their undergraduates need more than just, you know, classroom learning experiences but need the research experience if they want to go and be chemists. So, that's probably why they started the Program.

She alluded to some earlier programs that influenced the URP, and how those initiatives were influenced by external forces such as governmental funding agencies.

Organizational Structure

The Undergraduate Research Programs Office was located structurally within the Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education's (VPUE) Office. When describing VPUE's

role in supporting undergraduate research, an administrator stated that it was important to operate in observance of the faculty culture:

So we're a funding source, we're a source for administration and some idea creation but we can't implement without partnerships with faculty and departments and given the nature of, especially a research university, we don't tell them what to do.... We're in a position where we can put very few limits on what [faculty] must do because then they just won't work with us. It's not the way faculty work, right?

She added: "We wanted to have undergraduates engaged in the direct scholarship life of the University and to make that happen, we had to provide the resources for faculty and departments to hire students to do that."

This administrator also described how some tensions existed between departments and the VPUE's Office around allocation of resources and power within the structure:

The one piece of criticism that's around the University--and this is a point of real tension--is the fact that all of these research funds, and it's one of the privileged areas of campus for funding right now, are being distributed, allocated by a central non-departmental administrative unit--the VPUE that's not part of a school, it's not a department...and some people perceive of it as this superfluous kind of super structure. Some people think that these monies should be put directly in the hands of departments or if not that, schools. 'Why do we have this central VPUE thing clogging up our access to money?' So there's definitely some tension out there.

In addition to tensions between VPUE and the departments, undergraduate education in general often competed for resources with initiatives geared toward graduate education and faculty. This administrator stated:

And it's happened during the past at Stanford where money has been put forward for undergraduate research or any sort of undergraduate programs--push comes to shove, the money is taken away from undergraduate education and put toward graduate education and faculty.... The undergraduates get pushed down to the bottom of the hierarchy and that's why the VPUE was actually created...so that there would be some office that was there to advocate for the interest of undergraduates and assure that they weren't getting pushed aside in importance.... So that tension is definitely out there.

Administrators reported that the URP staff members collaborated with Undergraduate Advising and the Center for Teaching and Learning as well as some of the

ethnic centers on campus. One administrator lamented the fact that the URP did not collaborate more with the Office of the Vice Provost for Student Affairs:

You know, here we've got this Academic Affairs / Student Affairs split and I don't think that there should be such a split. There could be a very mutually enriching relationship in there and for some reason, it doesn't happen much.

She elaborated, however, that connections with the ethnic centers were important because the URP wanted to make sure that they were providing equal opportunities for all students and because "the student ethnic groups are eager to have good academic content to deliver to the members of their groups."

Resources and Prospects for Institutionalization

The administrators all described how resource-intensive undergraduate research was if the University supported it in a substantive way. They were optimistic about the URP's future because of its inclusion in the University's Capital Campaign:

Basically, it's a really expensive program. And the University doesn't want to fund it continuously through general funds. They're committed to it and the way to do it is to endow it.

Another administrator added that:

We're having this billion dollar campaign because we're spending a lot of incremental money--over \$20 million a year, which is a lot.... We have been funding [undergraduate research], for the most part, through the generosity of a very small number of very good friends of the University.

Administrators agreed that URP was institutionalized at Stanford and had a secure future because of the commitment and support of the administration and faculty, the strong student interest and new plans for using endowments to fund the Programs. One administrator remarked that:

[Undergraduate research] has been very well received by students and faculty. So as long as both of those parties are happy and [we] have the money, the Program is going to continue. You need all three of those conditions to be true. If any one of them breaks, the program collapses.

In the 2003 edition of *U.S. News and World Report America's Best Colleges*, Stanford University's undergraduate research programs were ranked third best in the U.S. based on nominations by college presidents, chief academic officers, and deans of students.

Stanford's Undergraduate Research Programs were well-regarded within the University and within the field of higher education.

THE HAAS CENTER FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

I don't hear too many people saying ['public service education']. I think the tendency is, if I'm in certain circles where it's faculty-dominated or faculty-oriented, I hear one thing. In fact, the choice of the term 'service-learning' is indicative, I feel, of a position already taken that there's a push towards rigor, but I feel narrowly defined.... It puts the discourse in the mode where it assumes that because the goal is to embed it within the academy, it necessarily means it must fit the standards of already existing disciplinary definition of rigor within each discipline. So, that doesn't seem like progress to me. It seems more like an appropriation of a part of service or experiential education that the higher ed community has chosen to embrace but isn't really dealing with the fundamental, if you will, radical questions raised by experiential education about what education ought to be like which is, I think, a broader question than how can we make it rigorous (Stanford Program Administrator).

The Public Service Center: 1983-1992

In his 1983 commencement speech, Stanford President Donald Kennedy “challenged seniors to give some of their talents to society by becoming involved in a community or public service activity, either through volunteer or professional work” (<http://haas-fmp.stanford.edu/about/Historical.htm>). His impetus for challenging the graduating class was the general characterization of young people during the early 1980s Reagan era as careerist and “uninterested in the world around them.” President Kennedy felt that this characterization was inaccurate and became committed to supporting public service efforts at Stanford on an institutional level. A program administrator confirmed that this characterization of students was not generalizable to Stanford students given their initial response to the Public Service Center (PSC):

As soon as the doors were opened, the student response was so phenomenal.... It was pretty amazing how rapidly the student culture changed. And, I think it was more rapid here than on other campuses...because we had the Center and really trained the student leadership. It was a movement among students and it caught fire for some reason.

When asked what the context was for supporting public service at Stanford, a program administrator replied that there was strong support both internally and externally, but most notably from President Kennedy:

But I think the things that made coming here attractive, was not just the establishment of the PSC, but Kennedy's support--well, everything else

that was going on here. There was such an effort supporting undergraduate education that I hadn't seen before elsewhere. You know, they had just opened Sweet Hall--was it '83 or '84? That was the first building *just* for undergraduate education. So it was kind of a radical move.... The idea that maybe we could make this work, we actually had some leadership in the front office. I mean there was just a lot of excitement, and a lot of people both inside and outside the university that thought that this was just really exciting that Stanford was doing it. Don [Kennedy] was so strongly behind it. Clearly there was going to be money available.

As a first step in promoting public service, President Kennedy appointed a Special Assistant to evaluate the state of public service at Stanford and make recommendations about strengthening it. Among her findings were that public service efforts on campus were fragmented and uncoordinated and there was a lack of information about public service activities (Milton, 1984). During her evaluation, she discovered a tremendous amount of interest from various constituents in strengthening public service at Stanford.

In an effort to promote public service activities on campus, the Stanford Volunteer Network (SVN) was created as a clearinghouse for public service activities and became one of the founding student groups of the Public Service Center. During 1983, Stanford held the first "You Can Make A Difference Conference," the purpose of which was to introduce members of the Stanford community to important social issues such as hunger and racism. The Conferences attracted prominent speakers such as Senator Edward Kennedy, Antonia Novello and Ted Koppel (<http://haas-fmp.stanford.edu/about/Historical.htm>).

In 1984, the Public Service Center was established officially and housed in an office of Owen House on campus. According to a planning document entitled "Public Service Center" (April 19, 1984), the goals of the PSC were to: "Give institutional emphasis to public service. Public service defined as 'doing good' either through government, community or one-on-one" (p. 1). One of the main stated purposes of the PSC was to encourage students to "embrace" public service both while at Stanford and after they graduated in their careers and life goals. Another stated purpose was to make Stanford more accessible to community organizations and government agencies who sought Stanford's assistance, and generally "helping Stanford be a better neighbor" (p. 1).

According to this document, the first year activities centered on establishing various strategies for informing the campus community about public service and available opportunities. Such activities included developing a campus-wide conference, developing a public service internship clearinghouse, and creating a network with the community. With regard to sponsoring internships, the document stated clearly that the PSC would “...not grant credit - but refer to credit granting departments/programs” (p. 2). A proposal for the Stanford Community Service Center (no date) confirmed that the goal of the Center was to engage students in more *non-credit* service experiences. In considering the best location and administration for the Center structurally, the author of the proposal raised the following question:

One of the major questions to be addressed here is the relationship of the CSC [Community Service Center], all-university and non-academic by definition, to the service-oriented departments that offer academic credit to students under the School of Humanities and Sciences (SCIRE, SWOPSI, etc.). One might consider combining them all, but the focus on the CSC's non-credit nature might be lost among the jungle of established academic programs. It is true that there may be some duplication of information by avoiding consolidation; however, this separation will be necessary to convince faculty and staff that the CSC has nothing to do with academics.

Based on these and other considerations, the proposal stated that the Center should be administered as an Independent Center rather than through the ASSU or the Dean of Students Office. The rationale for this proposed structure was that the Center could secure better funding and it wouldn't be perceived as a “student-only” organization.

During the founding years, the Center Director reported to the President. The proposed staff for the PSC included a Director, an Assistant Director (probably a recent graduate), an administrative assistant, 5 student interns who would receive small stipends, and consultants. The center was governed and guided by a Faculty Steering Committee, a National Advisory Board and a Public Service Student Advisory Board. Each board was important in its own way--to get opinion leaders who are faculty on board, to ensure student voice, and to build national stature.

The National Public Service Context

As described in the Cornell Chapter, there was strong support for public service nationally during this time. This support was built during the mid to late 1980s and culminated with The 1990 National Community Service Act, which established the Commission for National and Community Service (CNCS), an independent federal agency that sought to encourage Americans of all ages to volunteer on local and national levels. As a precursor to some of the national legislation, President Kennedy, along with the presidents of Brown and Georgetown Universities and the Education Commission of the States founded Campus Compact in 1985 to promote public service within higher education institutions. Campus Compact was founded as a coalition of college and university presidents; however, it since broadened its membership to include other constituents in higher education. While its membership grew to over 880 institutions (www.compact.org), membership was targeted initially toward the more elite institutions. Becoming one of the founders of Campus Compact was consistent with President Kennedy's commitment to public service on campus. A program administrator said that while Campus Compact certainly had some influence on mobilizing public service efforts at Stanford as well as nationally, there was a sense that the eventual impact of Campus Compact on Stanford was small because "we were a little bit ahead" of other institutions in developing these efforts.

At the time of its founding, Campus Compact focused specifically on public service, not service-learning. A program administrator at Stanford was instrumental in influencing Campus Compact to embrace service-learning in its mission. He described some early activities that led to this shift:

Susan Stroud [the Campus Compact Director] and I got Don [Kennedy] ...to chair the academic service-learning initiative...I can't remember the name. And then we did a national survey which was published...and then as a result of that survey, the Compact decided to actually get into this stuff. And the first major strategy was funding for three Summer Institutes, and the first one was here and, I think, that was like '89 or '90, something like that. The reason I raise that as a Haas Center event is, it was doing those institutes that gave us the idea and the confidence that eventually [service-learning] would work for Stanford.

With funding from the Hewlett Foundation, the Center was able to gather together approximately 30 faculty members for a Campus Compact Institute for Linking Service and Academic Study.

Public Service Center Models

Informants said consistently that the PSC was “home grown” and had evolved to fit the context and needs of Stanford. According to a program administrator, the President and those involved in the Center’s founding, did look at models from peer institutions early on, but decided not to adopt them:

They went to Yale and Harvard and Princeton...they looked at the Ivy League model of, you know, Philips Brooks House [at Harvard] and rejected it quite correctly, I think. I remember...hearing Don [Kennedy] say, that he thought it was important that the University have to take care....of the Public Service Center or the Center would have to fight for its budget with everybody else. Instead of a non profit organization sitting on the campus. [Those programs at other universities] certainly are wonderful for the students who are involved. Had they had any impact on their institution? It’s definitely zilch at Cornell and pretty much zilch even at Harvard. You know, they’re just seen as a nice thing, ‘we’re so lucky to have this, we don’t have to pay for it, the students have fun. It makes us look a little better in the community.’ So, I think, that the basic model of having it on campus, having it be a department in that sense, was the right move. Not always a happy one for the Director but definitely the right one. And from the very beginning, I mean, that Don gave the place a mission which...was to change Stanford.

He added that competition with peer institutions was helpful in leveraging support for the PSC at Stanford, even if the Center here was conceived differently:

Oh, it’s definitely homegrown.... We did use the fact that there were these big programs at our sister schools to embarrass people into giving lip service to it here. Yeah, that’s definitely true, but what they were doing at those other schools was not what we wanted to do here. But we still used it.

A senior administrator added that interaction with those involved in the founding of Campus Compact, particularly the presidents of Brown and Georgetown Universities, helped shape the way the PSC was conceptualized here.

Initial Strategies

According to a program administrator, the PSC’s principal strategy was to engage students, engage faculty and “get a piece of real estate.” As mentioned earlier, students were quite responsive about engaging in public service. In addition, the Haas family

endowment made it possible for the Center to have a permanent home. Recruiting and engaging faculty to participate in the Center's efforts proved to be one of the greater challenges that the Center faced. Informants described how the PSC's first director was not particularly faculty-oriented, and it was not until the second director was appointed that the Center started forging relationships with faculty. A program administrator described how relationship building was a slow, steady process: "So I spent a lot of time walking around talking to faculty, quietly. But we didn't do anything with any kind of public fanfare." The program staff recognized that they needed to tread lightly with faculty given the legitimacy problems faced by ARLO, SCIRE and SWOPSI. In addition to the one-on-one outreach, creating a Faculty Advisory Board was a key strategy initially. This program administrator described how the Advisory Board was selected carefully to reach the core of the senior faculty:

I remember sitting in [the Provost's] office that first year--we were just putting the thing together. We had to have an advisory board, a faculty committee, and he said, 'now we're going to put some good people on here. They're not going to be the usual suspects.' He named off a whole bunch of names of wonderful people, many of whom had supported [the Center]. 'We're not putting those people in--not because they're not good people but because it would look bad. We're going to put the opinion leaders on the committee.' So Ken Arrow was on the committee, Condi Rice...Lincoln Moses. People who would care about it but in a traditional kind of way but whom other faculty members aren't going to buck. He said 'you'll always have the usual suspects--they'll support it so we don't worry about that--what we need to get are these other people.'

He went on to describe how the President worked actively to bring faculty on board:

Other than my one-on-one ambassadorial work, somewhere the idea came up to have Friday afternoon sherry hour in Don [Kennedy's] office. And I remember sitting in his office with him and we would decide whom to invite and he'd invite them and people would never say no. He has such a gift for leading discussions--he'd never tell anyone anything. He'd just ask all these Socratic questions--they had wonderful discussions. So he was trying to generate some intellectual interest in what service-learning could represent without ever using the words 'service-learning'--we called it 'Study-Service Connections.'

Efforts to bring public service closer to the academic parts of the institution were slow and cautious. A program administrator described how even the President had to be convinced that connecting service to academics was the direction in which the Center

should proceed. One of the ways the staff reached out to students was by producing an Alternative Courses and Degrees catalog that highlighted public service opportunities, relevant courses and degrees. He described how students began demanding service-learning opportunities:

We took the courses that seemed relevant to public service work, and around the courses there was a list of internships and student projects. Students got it and the students were beginning to demand reflection opportunities. They were involved. They would come into the office and say, 'how come there's not a single course in the bulletin on Homelessness?'

The Legacy of SWOPSI, SCIRE, and ARLO

SWOPSI, SCIRE and ARLO¹⁰ all provided an important legacy for the PSC in terms of engaging students in the community and providing some lessons learned about how to structure and position their efforts (and more importantly, how *not* to). Some of the early proposal and planning documents raised the question of the Center's relationship with SWOPSI, SCIRE and ARLO. While maintaining that the new Center was to be non-academic, the Proposal for the Stanford Community Service Center recommended locating all of these programs in a central physical location. In 1985 SCIRE and ARLO were eliminated, and several administrators saw part of the PSC's role as absorbing at least the internship and field placement activities from those two programs. A program administrator said the following about the modest influence of those programs on the PSC:

I don't think [SWOPSI, SCIRE and ARLO] shaped [the PSC] very much at all. SCIRE had kind of a database of internships that was turned over to us. And part of our mandate was to develop a clearinghouse of volunteer activities, which was a good way to start. There was at least some language about doing community-based research that came out of the ARLO mission. The difficulty with that is faculty support.

Consistently informants described their intentional efforts to distance the PSC from SWOPSI, SCIRE and ARLO, given the controversy these programs generated in terms of legitimacy. According to a senior administrator, "there was a sense of concern that faculty with long memories would remember that they didn't think that much of SWOPSI." A

¹⁰ The Stanford Workshops on Political and Social Issues, the Student Center for Innovation and Research in Education, and the Action Research Liaison Office are described in detail earlier in this chapter.

program administrator described how the controversies around these programs helped shape the strategies that were used to develop the PSC:

The spring before I came, [the faculty senate] closed down the SCIRE program and ARLO and almost closed SWOPSI. And it was all the usual arguments about why those folks shouldn't be around. So, it was not widespread support for accredited experiential learning here. But it was also creating--for some reason--we were all optimists at the time, but it looked like these programs went down for reasons that could have been avoided ...[because of] all the things that would never win in a research university, all the good things that students were doing. The lack of departmental or even school-based faculty support. They did all the wonderful things --they had students on their boards, they had community people on their boards. But the people running those, it was sort of an 'us-them' battleground.... I think that's why it was so clear to me that this was a losing situation.

In addition, he described how the Center staff adopted an explicit strategy to distance the Center from those programs:

The idea was that the PSC would pick up ARLO and SCIRE as a function. Well, ultimately, [it happened], but it was such a hot potato that it didn't make any sense to touch it at the time. When we started the PSC, we had students come in and got them involved experientially, but not--we weren't talking service learning courses. Not long-term, but in terms of building a support base, not getting identified as like 'those programs.' That's not fair to those programs at all, but as a political strategy it was [important for] the PSC.

A program administrator described how the Center's relationship with the Urban Studies Program linked them indirectly to SWOPSI; however, the nature of academic control was different:

[A faculty member] would say that...the Urban Studies Program is the legacy of SWOPSI. By him saying that, we're implicated because we're such close partners but it's different from SWOPSI in that the locus of control is not outside of the academy. I think that's the crucial piece of information and that Haas Center staff have instinctively defended the Haas Center by saying, 'No! We're not part of SWOPSI or ARLO.' I think, because they're well aware of what happened in that we don't want to become marginalized but if I look at it, in a different light, not defending ourselves politically or fending off criticism, I think, we have actually facilitated an iteration of what SWOPSI and ARLO hoped to do whose locus of control is in the academy. I think that...if the spirit of the programs was, in fact, to have some of the student's education controlled by community members, that is not happening, you know?

While the Center supported many of the same functions that ARLO, SWOPSI, and SCIRE did, the staff thought that it was important that the control over academics resided on campus with the faculty:

I think we have been able to avoid much criticism there because all the courses are taught by faculty or instructors who have been appointed lecturers. So, we don't have the ARLO and SWOPSI problem that way. I think if we did that, we would have a problem. They'd say that rigor is lacking. I don't buy the notion that just because it's being taught by lecturers and faculty that it's rigorous. Because rigor, I think, has to do with the overall service-learning design, not just the traditional course content.

A specific strategy in the beginning involved emphasizing the non-accredited nature of the PSC activities. According to a program administrator, if students wanted to receive academic credit for their public service experiences, the staff would counsel them not to seek credit because securing faculty sponsorship could be difficult. If students really wanted credit for their experiences, the staff would coach them carefully about how to do it:

So, we definitely played [credit for fieldwork] down and began coaching students. We had a little publication--how to go talk to a faculty member about setting up an independent study.

Part of the rationale for staying out of accreditation was that this program administrator knew not to "compete with faculty," which he believed contributed to the struggles the Extradepartmental Programs had. He added that academic legitimacy also played a role in the reputation of those programs, particularly when the Associate Dean of H&S closed SCIRE and ARLO:

I think that somehow or another the people in SCIRE and ARLO didn't convey any respect for academic knowledge--that's my take on it. [The Dean] just thought they were trying to support students to do these unintellectual projects in the community. I think what she was hearing from us maybe was that community service experience could actually connect with the liberal arts and could illuminate issues that were important to humans.

He added that the Associate Dean of H&S was supportive of the PSC's efforts and coached him on the best approach to take to ensure academic quality and legitimacy:

She said a couple of things that stayed in my ear. I remember...her feeling about SCIRE was that the quality of that stuff was very wide and she said to me one day, 'don't be pushed by anybody who's looking for numbers. If you do five projects, as long as they're high quality, that's what matters. And I'll back you up on that. Whatever you do, do it well so that you can't be criticized.'

Key Resources

During the late 1980s, the PSC received significant funding from two sources. In 1987 the PSC became part of the \$1.1 billion Centennial Capital Campaign. Two years later, the Haas Family of San Francisco donated \$5 million to endow the Public Service Center, which subsequently was renamed the Haas Center for Public Service. These funds, along with those raised through fundraising efforts enabled the Haas Center to break ground on a new 14,000 square foot building, which was completed in 1993. The Haas family donation was also used to create an endowed professorship in public service. In 1989, John Gardner was named the first Miriam and Peter Haas Centennial Professor in Public Service.

Structure of the Public Service Center

Throughout its history the Center was located structurally in three different locations: The President's Office, where it originated; the Provost's Office; and the Vice Provost for Student Affairs (VPSA) Office, which was its current location. These changes were the result of leadership transitions in the President's Office. A program administrator described these changes:

Well, it started out as a special project of the President and then Don [Kennedy] felt that to be institutionalized it needed to be out of the President's office and out of the special project status and he wanted it in the Provost's office. That move was made, I think, in the first year or second year. And we stayed that way for several years. And then [the Provost] reorganized the Provost's office. And one of the objectives of the reorganization was to get most of the direct reports out. So then the recommendation was to put us in Student Affairs and [the PSC Director] had a complete conniption about that and battled [the Provost] to the floor on it. And the result was a very interesting compromise. All our administrative stuff was put in Student Affairs but she reported to the President. We made all the basic functional decisions [in Student Affairs], and [the Director] talked with Don. And then Gerhard [Casper's] first move when he arrived--he finished the job in the first meeting...he said to me--'no, you're no longer reporting to me.'

At that point, the Director reported directly to the VPSA and had no direct reporting linkages with the Provost or President.

When asked why President Kennedy moved the Center to the Provost's office, this program administrator provided the following rationale:

Oh, I think because the Provost was the Chief Academic Officer of the University--that it shouldn't be in a school. By that time [the President] understood that it shouldn't be in Student Affairs. And our strength was becoming evident, I think. I mean the Haas Center had more and stronger relationships with faculty than any other student affairs unit. And that's always been true. So part of it--I felt that part of the reason we got stuck in Student Affairs was that they thought that we could show them how to do that. But there's not an inclination to do it.

He described how being located in Student Affairs had its advantages and disadvantages:

Well...[being in Student Affairs] had good news and bad news. The good news was when the university went through budget cuts we were probably safer--we weren't competing for academic money. Student Affairs took a huge hit during the budget cut and we got through it fairly unscathed, but I think that we were better off there unscathed than on the other side.

An administrator had the following to say about the move to Student Affairs:

I think that was a major mistake. I think Gerhard Casper tried very hard to cut down the scope of his responsibilities and, I don't think that service was high on his list of priorities. It was there, it was going fine, thought he would let it go [on existing] but, 'don't bother me with it.'

He added that this move was "a disappointing signal to people who liked the idea of the Haas Center."

Support from the Administration

Faculty and administrators all cited President Kennedy as an important leader in the public service movement at Stanford. His support was crucial during the initial years; however a few informants saw his support more along the lines of a student volunteerism model than a service-learning model. A program administrator characterized his support:

So there was the golden era of Don Kennedy, though having said that, I don't know that Don Kennedy understands the fullness of the discourse and practice of experiential education and all of those things so, I think, in his day, he was probably closer to civic engagement, student volunteerism than what others would talk about when they say experiential education and those things as being part of that.

While President Kennedy initiated the public service agenda and provided significant support, the Center staff really shifted those efforts to service-learning after the early years.

During subsequent administrations, support ebbed and flowed, due to contextual factors and institutional and individual priorities. When President Kennedy resigned amid controversies regarding indirect costs related to government research funding, the incoming President, Gerhard Casper, had different priorities on which to focus. A couple of informants described support for the Haas Center under his administration as "the coolness factor." A program administrator characterized President Casper's commitment to public service as "benevolent disinterest." She added:

I feel that the tone of that is unfair because I don't see it so much as Gerhard was against the Haas Center or public service or anything like that. I thought of it more as his concentration is putting the house in order-- putting [Stanford] on the map in terms of a respected, elite institution and reinvigorating undergraduate education which he didn't state that public service is important part of that because, I think, he has a fairly traditional view of what the service of a university is to the world and that is in the form of research. So, I don't think he was saying, 'you shouldn't do public service.' I think he was saying the University does public service in its research.

Another program administrator added that Condoleezza Rice, the Provost under Casper's administration, served as an important buffer and liaison between the Center and the President. According to a program administrator:

I really don't know what went on between [the Provost and the President] but she actually coached me on how to behave during that time and what to ask for. But [President Casper] never did anything actively against us because he didn't want to antagonize people who were for us.

In general, informants described this Provost as committed personally to the goals of public service. Another program administrator stated:

When Gerhard Casper and Condi Rice came in, it was really Condi who defined our role much more, and as a practitioner of government work she was highly supportive of those parts of the Haas Center that related to government work like Stanford in Government and she, in fact, was instrumental not only in funding with her own money--she did her own private donation, charitable giving to fund a fellowship in International Relations. She got George Schultz and a few other people to endow fellowships. So, she put her money where her mouth was. She was very

concerned about government as a field of practice as one can imagine.... [She was probably] their rare Political Science person from here who actually believed in practice as a legitimate part of undergraduate education. So, that defined the way she looked at the Haas Center. And she was very concerned that the Center send a message of being ideologically diverse, which is very interesting. Yeah, so she saw it from the other direction that the Haas Center may be in danger of being defined as a bastion of liberal democratic practice.

Another program administrator concurred:

Well [the Provost] was [a strong supporter], in an interesting way. Well she understood the importance of practical experience--I think it's because she had so much of her own.... She actually understood at some level this stuff a lot better than other people. So she was an important person.

He added that the Associate Dean of H&S was "quite supportive in her *own* way, even though she had been the one to ax SCIRE and ARLO. I think that at some level she understood what I was talking about and wasn't quite sure how to do it. She was curious." In addition, support in the Vice Provost for Student Affairs Office varied over the years. Informants found all the VPSAs generally supportive, however, some were more informed and more engaged with supporting public service efforts than others.

The Haas Center for Public Service: 1993-1999

From Public Service to Study-Service Connections

While efforts to connect with faculty had been happening for a few years, 1993 was a pivotal year in introducing service-learning on campus, which Stanford then called "Study-Service Connections." By the end of 1993, approximately 45 faculty and 600 students were involved in study-service connections through over 40 service-learning courses. The Center also initiated the Stanford Summer Institute on Service-Learning, drawing faculty from all around the country.

An important precursor to study-service connections, which culminated in the first official faculty sanction of service-learning at Stanford, was a three-day seminar in 1990 sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation. According to a program administrator, the head of the foundation asked President Kennedy to consider being the flagship university for making service-learning a graduation requirement. The President called a group of faculty

together to discuss the feasibility of such a requirement. According to a program administrator:

Again, it was the same--we picked the opinion leaders. We don't want just the people who are going to agree with it.... It was a rough group--they were not an official group but they were a prestigious group... And at the end of it they voted not to require service-learning, which fortunately, we didn't want. But they did turn around and recommend strongly to the Haas Center that the Study-Service Connections, as we were still calling it in those days, be seriously undertaken, that they wanted there to be a curriculum strategy for doing this.

While this core group of faculty was supportive, that support wasn't necessarily University-wide. According to one program administrator, the Center directors appointed after the original director were sometimes criticized for their efforts to shift the focus from public service to service-learning:

When I took over and then when [another program administrator] came, you know, we got accused of turning it...from a Public Service Center to a Center for Service-Learning. Lots of people [accused us of that]. I took it as a badge of honor.... I think, there was probably worry that we were overly concerned with service-learning, and that the community service wouldn't get adequately supported.

This program administrator also recalled how they had to promote the Center using specific language to appeal to the administration:

And we changed the language. We did a lot of image management stuff... and we had to reposition the Center to appeal to Gerhard's conception of the University. If you looked at the newsletter, you would see a very distinct change. We tried to put the spotlight on more 'academic service' initiatives. We tried to give substance, you know, with the idea that the goal of this place is not simply to develop people's civic hearts and not just engage people in service but actually enable them to serve effectively. And the effectiveness agenda turned out to be that academic side of the institution.

He elaborated about the importance of language, and how the staff used it strategically to distance themselves from programs like SWOPSI:

'Study Service Connections'...came about because we needed a label for it, and we didn't want to use the existing labels at the time because experiential learning and service-learning...uh...well, nobody knew the word 'service-learning' and 'experiential learning' was a 'no no' at Stanford [because of SWOPSI].... You always run into trouble when you

label somebody because of boxes in other people's minds. You know, it's better to just describe it. So, if you look at the first RFP for the Service-Learning Course Development Fund, it's about five pages long...and we tried not to put any jargon in there whatsoever. And, I think, that's very important when you're starting to organize something to go that way because, I think, when you put a label on it, then you've lost it. And service-learning...came to be called service-learning because you know, service-learning was enough out there, that people were coming to us and saying, 'we want to do service-learning.'

Although the term "service-learning" was gaining recognition nationally, the staff chose to stay away from that term until faculty and students were familiar with it at Stanford. In order to introduce faculty to service-learning, the President provided the Center with a fund through which faculty could get seed money to develop courses.

In 1996 "as a result of a two-year strategic planning process, the Haas Center reorganize[d] its work to reflect the centrality of service-learning to its mission" (<http://haas-fmp.stanford.edu/about/Historical.htm>). That same year the Center received funding from a donor to hold three summer leadership institutes for faculty to encourage them to build service-learning into their courses and "enlist them in the cadre of faculty committee to service-learning curriculum development in departments and schools." To provide support to faculty who wanted to use service-learning pedagogy, the School of Humanities and Sciences provided course development funds to those who participated in what became known as the Marconi Institutes. A staff member characterized the significance of gathering a group of faculty for the Institutes:

So, it was pretty clear to me that there was a lot of potential at Stanford and that if you could sort of get faculty into a safe place to talk about it, that not only were they willing but actually that it turned out that there was this miraculous well of personal interest and commitment.... The faculty whom we invited who were, of course, hand picked...but from across disciplines...purposely a wide spread of people, that they were personally committed to public service, to pro bono work. They would love to involve their students but the structures weren't there to allow it to happen and that they had to often be secretive about that work because they felt that they would not be respected by their colleagues.

As service-learning became more widespread the staff sought to deepen the practice of service-learning at Stanford. The Haas Center staff voiced their position that service-

learning was interdisciplinary inherently; however, they realized that imbedding service-learning in the disciplines was an important institutionalization strategy:

I understand [service-learning in the disciplines] as a survival strategy and as a kind of...dirty way you make your way and we did our own bit of it so, we're as guilty as anybody. But to promote it as the way to institutionalize the field...always has worried me because service-learning is inherently interdisciplinary. And it loses its edge if you talk about it [as just disciplinary].

Another program administrator added:

It's [a] unique struggle on both sides and, again, do you collapse yourself into the status quo of the institutional culture? Which, I think, a lot of places do out of survival. Or do you have to play that game but do you also proclaim a different game which is, this is how the world should look?

Stanford: The Elite Entrepreneur

Administrators and staff discussed how Stanford's status as an elite institution meant that there had been less scrutiny about the Center internally. A program administrator said:

Now, it's a funny thing about Stanford. It's more of an image, I think when they're sitting there with their budget knives...I can't remember being asked for a lot of numbers and reports and things. I know we supplied them but this is such a funny place, you know, it's such an elitist club that once you're in the club people don't ask. They don't care.

Another program administrator added the following example about how this dynamic played out:

I've found that if I were to make a generalization, that the more concerned the institution was about its status, the more debate it had. And the more confident it was about its value in the rankings, the less it seems to pay attention to it and that's what I've found here, interestingly. I think if Stanford were very concerned about what its status was, I have a feeling there would be a lot more scrutiny on what we did. For example, the campus officials crow a lot about the 'renaissance in undergraduate education' at Stanford. So, they're referring to Freshman / Sophomore College, the Introduction to Humanities, all those new things that now they're trying to make sure will be institutionalized through endowment funding. I've asked the Associate Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education 'what do you do to evaluate so that you know that they're high quality...?' She said, 'well, you know, if I have more faculty each year

signing up to do IHUM and Freshman / Sophomore College...I don't know why I need to do more than that'. So, I was thinking to myself, okay, that wouldn't fly in a bunch of other institutions when they say, 'okay, what are the outcomes of all these innovations?' They'd want some highly rigorous, complex, longitudinal study to get at value.

These dynamics also provided the Haas Center with room for innovation and experimentation:

So, I think, there's a fair amount of experimentation here, which includes the Haas Center that's based on, well, if you can pay for it, find some way that, you know, meets the budget and everything, the less likely that you are asked...that there's a culture of debate about these matters.

This statement was consistent with the general characterization that many informants made that Stanford was more entrepreneurial and open to innovation than its peer institutions.

As the Haas Center developed on campus, it also continued to gain recognition nationally and internationally. By 1995, more than 3000 Stanford students were involved in public service and service-learning every year. "The success of the Center attracts visits and requests for assistance from presidents, deans, faculty, and staff from more than 130 colleges and universities each year" (<http://haas-fmp.stanford.edu/>). Even in the early years, informants recalled that the Center staff received calls from reporters interested in Stanford's efforts as it was seen as a leader in public service across the country.

Public Service Scholars Program (PSSP)

In collaboration with the School of Humanities and Sciences, the Haas Center founded the Public Service Scholars Program in 1992 for students interested in writing honors theses that would also serve as a form of public service. A program administrator described how the Program was one of the most concrete manifestations of linking service with scholarship at Stanford:

The Public Service Scholars Program...probably in many ways exemplified pushing ourselves into the heart of the academic court, and the idea that research is service, because we work in a research institution; and we were pretty much the first ones nationally to do that at the undergraduate level.

The PSSP was started by a Communications professor who proposed the Program as part of the newly formed Honors College. His proposal differed from others that were

submitted in that the students' honors thesis work was designed to be interdisciplinary, public service-oriented, and open to students in all majors. Typically honors theses occurred within the boundaries of the disciplines. Shortly after the Program was initiated, this professor left Stanford and a program administrator oversaw the Program. She stated that when she took the Program over:

I felt a bit out of place. For one thing, I was brand new and for another, all the directors of these programs were all faculty.... I think I was treated with some curiosity. It wasn't like, 'oh, my god, what is that about...?' More curiosity like 'well, how would a student do that kind of research?', you know, it's more those kinds of questions and 'does the student have a faculty advisor?' I'd say, 'yes!' But I think expressions of doubt that the public interest could be served in a more immediate sense through research and, I think, some...saw dangers...in are we being realistic in terms of the time that it takes for a student to get a handle on material enough to actually do justice to an honor's thesis and also consider the question of service to community? I think many of them had backed out and, I think, it was the right kind of doubt because as it turns out, as you probably know yourself, that it's more manageable for a student to work in a Chemistry lab as part of a team than it is to conduct research with real life human beings.

The PSSP continued to evolve in nontraditional ways:

What happened was the building of a community of learners, supporting thesis work with a component of public service.... It might have been different had it been [the founding professor] running the Program where there were faculty, you know, emphasizing the thesis work, etc. So, anyway, now, it's a hallmark of the Program that besides completion of your thesis and getting seminars in methodology and community-based research, that the building of a community of scholars is a huge part of the Program.

The Haas Center staff was concerned initially that the honors theses completed through the PSSP might be perceived as qualitatively marginal, given that the Program existed outside of a regular departmental or disciplinary unit. A program administrator described how students actually had their theses held to higher standards than those in regular departments:

I think, in fact, we have insisted that all the theses in the Program should be whatever their department would normally call for. And then on top of that, they add this dimension of, well, is it of value to the community? What's it valuable for? Is basic research ever valuable in the immediate sense for anybody in the community or does it take forever before basic

research is translated...and yet all of their honors theses tend to be pressed into the basic research mode because that's what is demanded.

She said that PSSP students have received awards consistently for their research:

Every year, we've had students who have...won the highest honors, prizes in excellence in undergraduate research and this is awarded at graduation. And every year, we'll have one, two or three. That's a huge number given we're only eight to ten students in the Program and [students receive awards] very consistently, every year.

She added that "...the huge value of the program is in affirming those students who truly love scholarship and who have felt that in order to be a public servant, they had to abandon it." The following are some examples of PSSP theses that exemplified how students were able to combine traditional research with a public service agenda:

- research on the Harlem Renaissance that resulted in a curriculum enrichment reader for K-12 English teachers and students
- an analysis of small business licensing practices in East Palo Alto that resulted in the City Council changing its licensing processes
- an experimental research project that examined the impact of horseback riding as therapy for autistic children that a non-profit was able to use for funding proposals
- an analysis of the impact of the development of the Olympic Village in Atlanta on homelessness and low-income housing that could be used by community groups in other cities to deal with housing issues that are the result of major public events.

This program administrator described how the Program's curriculum and intentional design as a community of learners helped students deconstruct "public service" and understand the different ways in which research could serve the public:

And so, the seminars were a very important part of exploring different conceptions and perceptions of what constitutes public service and for the most part, student's conceptions were 'volunteerism' so they expected some kind of action rather than scholarship that has value for public interest or a particular community group or whatever. And so, I think, the biggest contribution of the Public Service Scholars in terms of content, is raising the question of... 'what constitutes what we're calling public scholarship?' And that includes research projects that are commissioned by a community or a non profit organization, something as specific as that to doing a thesis that has implications and even though it's not very direct, for some part of public interest. So, I think, it's taken a while for students to reconcile with whatever their starting notions were about public service....

As participants in the PSSP, students read extensively about the foundations and philosophy of public service as part of the seminar.

Increased Focus on Research

According to Center staff and administrators, the PSSP was an initiative that helped demonstrate to the Stanford community that community-based research could be as rigorous as more traditional research. Over the past ten years, the central administration increased its support of public service-related research. The Haas Center, through support from the Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education (VPUE) and Undergraduate Research Programs (URP), piloted The Public Scholarship Initiative in 2001-2002 through which they were able to fund ten projects in the first year.

It all ended up that we've become involved in a VPUE's effort to increase the percentage of undergraduates accomplishing some kind of significant research before they graduate including the thesis but not exclusively the thesis. So, we are now in a partnership with VPUE in a project that we're calling Public Scholarship and VPUE has allocated, in the last year, \$50,000 to support faculty who are willing to work with undergraduates to do research that has value to communities. So, it's commissioned by some non profit group or community so there's an immediate consumer, so to speak. And...part of his vision to encourage many more ways by which faculty could work with undergraduates to do research.

The funding provided by the VPUE allowed faculty to carry out individual or group research with students that is community-based and related to a specific public issue. Funds can be used for a variety of purposes such as supporting research assistantships and developing new courses to train students in research skills. In the 2001-2002 RFP for the Public Scholarship Initiative, public scholarship was defined as "research and academic study that engages social issues in a real world context in which students test models and theories that they learn in their Stanford classes" (p. 3). The Haas Center saw the Public Scholarship Initiative as an opportunity for students to build on their public service and service-learning activities. Examples of public scholarship projects listed in the RFP included:

- Undergraduates working with faculty to assess the measurable health effects of excessive automobile and truck traffic on the citizens of East Palo Alto.

- Students working with faculty to assess whether on-line curricula used in the public schools helps non-native English speakers learn more efficiently.
- A student working with a business school faculty member to conduct a case study of the community impact of three Silicon Valley corporations' philanthropic endeavors (p. 3).

Although the Haas Center encouraged all faculty to apply for public scholarship funds, the RFP stated that Academic Council members with prior service-learning or public scholarship experience would be prioritized. In addition, the proposal reviewers considered whether or not the researchers had proposed community-based practices that were ethical and effective. Future funding was somewhat uncertain since the VPUE had committed to funding the Initiative on a year to year basis.

The first formal manifestation of community-based research at Stanford was the Action Research Liaison Office (ARLO), which was founded in 1974. When ARLO was eliminated in 1985, the Haas Center was to absorb some of those functions although, as mentioned earlier, the staff chose initially to distance themselves from the Program because of legitimacy concerns. When asked about the extent to which action research existed at Stanford, a program administrator answered:

I think...we are very far away from my dream of eventually having a program for action research. I think what we have right now is a program for students who are doing traditional academic thesis research who are also in a program to examine the nature of research and how it serves the public or specific communities and how they might bridge what appears to be a gap between the immediate usefulness and value and basic research.... I actually introduced the notion of action research and participatory action research as part of the seminar of the Public Service Scholars Program and provide the students with readings on it or examples of it and so forth and, I think, through their readings and discussion, they see that their research isn't action research.

She added that she did consider the Public Scholarship Initiative to be a form of action research; however, the Haas Center staff was careful not to use that language:

I think the Public Scholarship [Initiative] is actually a form of action research. I think the choice of language matters politically so 'public scholarship' goes down differently than 'action research.' So, for public scholarship to be a part of the funded program offerings of the VPUE, I think, is a significant step but we don't call it action research.

The Role of Students

The Haas Center staff agreed that students have played an important role in building and sustaining public service and service-learning efforts at Stanford. A few informants described how service-learning was spread because students were demanding it.

According to a senior administrator:

Smart kids can come back from the soup kitchen to Wilbur Hall only so many times before somebody strikes their head and says, 'gee, you know, maybe there's a way of doing this that's a little bit different. Maybe there are some policies that could obviate the need for our doing this every day and so let's talk about homelessness and let's talk about hunger and let's talk about poverty as generalized social ills and think about ways in which our intelligence could be used to formulate policies that might mitigate them.'

One program administrator compared Stanford students' efforts to students at other institutions:

You know, I've been on campuses where they're trying to start service-learning without students, and it doesn't make any sense, it doesn't go anywhere. It doesn't have the energy that we have here. We have faculty members coming to us saying, 'the students are demanding something and I don't even know what they're talking about. Help!'

One of the more visible indicators of student involvement in these efforts was the students' attempt to create a Public Service Minor at Stanford. A student involved in proposing the public service minor had the following to say about why students organized this effort:

The Public Service Minor Initiative aimed to bridge the gap between classroom and community.... Another premise of the Minor is our work here in the University as "intellectual labor." While the oil industry can profit from the Geological Sciences and pharmaceuticals continue to skyrocket with the latest discoveries in Chemistry, non-profit community groups lack any access to the intellectual labor of our university. It is our goal to make academic work meet the needs of the community.... But you've really got to make it happen because this place is a fairly conservative institution and not really keen on young people and our radical politics. But they can't stop us. Stanford has a hell of a lot of resources...and paying some \$30,000 makes it just as much ours. The question is how do we mold those resources in a socially responsible, politically minded way.... I say the answer is in service-learning, in bridging books and people (<http://seas.stanford.edu/diso/articles/servlearn.html>).

A program administrator described how the students' initiative worked in conjunction with faculty efforts to increase service-learning on campus. However, the students didn't understand initially some of the political implications of where the minor would reside, given the dominant disciplinary focus in universities:

I think the Public Service Minor was primarily a student addition to an effort on the part of the faculty's...particularly in the Faculty Steering Committee...to push through some kind of curricular offering that would be more sustainable and ongoing that's related to service-learning. But there was discussion about a minor but that came from the students and the reason why I say from the students is because the faculty did discuss it but they thought that politically, and other factors that they analyzed, suggested that it was pretty unrealistic because a minor would require course offerings that you would string together or piece together that would be a substantial real minor. And that called into question the fact that we're not an academic department and where would it reside and all of those kinds of things and so, I think, the sentiment was there's so many things that we could actually do that were curricular without having to push the issue of the minor. There's no Public Service Minor even though the students of the ASSU put that up there as a student government kind of platform or issue. So, that's dead but what's not dead...is doing something to signify that a course is a service-learning course somewhere in the bulletin.

While efforts to establish a Public Service Minor failed, Haas Center supporters were successful in making sure that service-learning courses were designated formally as such in the course catalog so that students could create their own course plans.

Faculty Involvement and Support

Program staff and administrators agreed that strong faculty support was crucial to developing the Haas Center. While faculty across the University participated in Haas Center activities, some departments or programs participated more than others. According to a program administrator:

The strongest bulwark of the support of the Center is the faculty. They're across all the disciplines, across all the schools, very engaged.... I think they're pretty much across the board--there are some glaring divisions, I guess, or absences. Sociology. And Political Science; and the reason why I feel it's glaring is because in other institutions, it's in Sociology and Political Science that you find more practitioners so it's kind of like, I don't know where they all went. It's funny. Some of the most vibrant practitioners and supporters are in the School of Engineering.

She added that she was surprised at how easily some faculty adopted service-learning and attributed this factor to the unique faculty culture of Stanford:

I have been startled, if not shocked by the relative ease by which faculty accept or adapt to any number of things, including service-learning, without necessarily considering all of those debates that I have heard of and been engaged in regarding experiential education. It seems to be more like a very practical group of faculty...it's a practical bent that puzzles me. I'm not against it because it has tended to favor us.... You know, so long as we provide them the infrastructure and staff support and the means in terms of their time to engage in something, they're pretty much willing to try stuff.... So, this institution, even though it has an 'elite selective status' I think, it's a very practically-oriented faculty. So, for us to argue for a practice so experiential, doesn't seem particularly troublesome to them. Where there might be a resistance is if we argued for credit to be earned for service-learning that wasn't taught by faculty. So, it has more to do with who is teaching it than its inherent characteristics.

From her perspective faculty seem more concerned about who was designing and evaluating the work than they were about the nature of the pedagogy. She added, "I'd say all across the campus there's been pretty much a lack of discussion of pedagogy or any philosophy of education." However, she acknowledged that those faculty who resisted service-learning did so because of "a very strong discipline-oriented sense of quality over work."

Public Service Education: 2000-2002

The Haas Center's current mission, which was developed in 1994, was stated as:

The Haas Center for Public Service promotes, organizes and supports public and community service by members of the Stanford community, especially students. The Haas Center strives to:

- **Respond effectively to community needs as identified by community members.** By cultivating collaborative partnerships with local, state, national and international organizations the Haas Center engages students in the widest variety of service activity -- hands-on action, government service, policy research, and community development.
- **Develop in students requisite knowledge, skills, and commitment for a lifetime of effective participation in public life.** The Haas Center seeks to make the opportunity to serve available to all students regardless of financial condition, academic interest, or political persuasion. Through service involvement students develop a spirit of giving and sharing. They learn with, from and about people whose lives are different from their own. They expand their understanding of social problems and their ability

to solve these problems. By encouraging student initiative and leadership the Center helps students gain knowledge and skills necessary for effective citizenship in a democratic, multicultural society.

- **Connect community needs and academic scholarship in a way that expands students' intellectual development and provides effective assistance to off-campus communities.** Service combined with study adds value to each and transforms both. The Haas Center works with faculty to build study-service connections and community research opportunities across the curriculum, which support students' academic interests and improve understanding, analysis, and resolution of social, economic, and technological problems facing society (<http://haas-fmp.stanford.edu/default.htm>).

From Service-Learning to Public Service Education

In 1999, the Haas Center received a four-year \$400,000 grant from the Hewlett Foundation to continue the development of service-learning. At the same time, the Haas Center started evaluating what "service-learning" should encompass at Stanford. The Haas Center sponsored a broad spectrum of public service and service-learning activities in an effort to shift the focus of the Center from *service-learning* to *public service education*. This spectrum included activities ranging from one-on-one service to advocacy and macro level policy so that, according to a program administrator, "students get the idea that a lifetime of public service includes any of those means of doing it." Whereas service-learning was conceptualized originally as curricular, this broadened definition included service and learning that occurred in the co-curricular context as well. In this context, service and learning could happen through settings as diverse as dorms, service-learning courses, ethnic centers, religious organizations and fraternities and sororities. A staff member reported that: "building this network of public service educators is really another code word for community organizing," as they reached out to partners on campus such as the Career Center and the Office of Religious Life.

While the general notion of Public Service Education had been present for several years, it was put forth more explicitly around 2000 when the Haas Center leadership changed. This shift toward broad-based Public Service Education was reflected in interviews with staff members as well as in written documentation and publicity materials. A program administrator described the shift in the Center's identity:

The next direction I've been taking it...is sort of to go full circle to insist that when we say we are practitioners of service-learning, we mean

something more broadly than credit-bearing teaching. That it is education in its broadest sense, and it's opportunistic and happens anywhere, any place within the institution but that it's by design irrespective of it being in the classroom or outside of the classroom and the design is situational depending on whether it's a student led service group that's pretty independent and does things on its own to individuals doing fellowships and internships to the traditional in the classroom service-learning. We feel very strongly that there's too much of a silo effect in the divide between traditional academic affairs and what's been called co-curricular student affairs.

When asked what led to a broadened definition of service-learning, this program administrator replied:

Comments I heard about faculty involvement as being inherently superior bothered me. I think that strategically and for its own sake, faculty ought to be involved but...I don't think that it's inherently superior simply because faculty are practicing it and it's in the classroom and earns credit. I saw that as a kind of a reaction to the critiques of service-learning and experiential education that had to do with some definition of academic rigor and academic rigor residing in faculty hands, which is an abbreviation for residing in discipline-based work. And what faculty did to apply the discipline or to involve...experiential stuff outside the classroom was still defined as the attempt to stretch the disciplines' work beyond the classroom or traditional classroom. I felt that that still didn't address what I saw as a flaw in higher ed, which was to see it hierarchically. That if it wasn't academic-based, then it was somehow second class or not rigorous. I see design of experiential education as rigorous depending on how tightly the actual design of the learning is related to the desired goals, and that can be any kind of learning, not just credit bearing and so I wanted rigor but a rigor that is applicable to any situation of experiential learning irrespective of it being in a classroom or outside of the classroom.

She added that the way students approached service and how they carried out their service activities in the community also influenced this shift:

The other thing I was hearing was that students, because they were so entrepreneurial, tended to not have much rigor because they were somewhat self centered...about the conduct of experiential education or the service programs that it was what gratified them, what was pleasurable to them and so forth. And so, that was another thing that I heard...that stands out was East Palo Alto as a very problematic practice base for students because all of the typical things that communities would complain about seemed to be happening there: redundancy, duplication, multiple groups calling the same individuals or organizations, etc. Not much respect because it is sort of a hit and run mentality.... So those were things that I had hoped to address when I got here. That was roughly '94.

There was a lot of damage control that I was very self-consciously involved with, of students' involvement in the community.

A staff member added that the Center began to see public service as a vehicle for creating more holistic educational experiences for students, and that it could be more integral rather than peripheral to the undergraduate experience:

We realized a few years ago that we couldn't, nor did we need to do everything that should be done at Stanford, with respect to public service. What we should be trying to do is connect service all over the place. And I think for me, the time when Casper came in as president, is what marked a shift in at least my thinking and I think the Center's, in thinking about the role of public service. Kennedy was great. Any time he spoke to anybody, he said 'if you leave here and you haven't gotten involved in the community, you're dismissing a huge opportunity....' We noticed that there was a marked downturn in the number of students coming to tutor when Casper came.... We need to show students how this was not just a nice thing that they should do if they can fit it in, but that service is a type of experience that could be for career development, help them figure out their major, connect to their classes, to all those kinds of things. So I think it really made us shift our thinking from, 'rah, service is so good, you should do it, the community needs you, it's just a good thing'--to really being more focused and saying, 'this is a kind of experience that can really deepen and enrich what you're doing in the classroom....'

According to staff members, the Center's ultimate goal was to have Stanford become known for its excellence in civic engagement, not just its excellence as a research university. The goal was to make Stanford a "public service university." A staff member added that given this goal, "...a mark of a Stanford graduate would be that students are aware enough of the bigger issues and have a sense that they should be aware. That they feel that there's some sense of empowerment--like I can do something. And that they know how to do it." These goals would move students beyond being involved in their communities to being effective social change agents, regardless of their chosen careers. She added that the educational process should be prioritized because it is key to getting students to that point: "We're not here to meet community needs. We're part of Stanford University's educational process." This approach meant "working with the institution where things are already happening anyway." Connecting with research opportunities was one of the more recent manifestations of building on what was already there.

While the philosophy behind Public Service Education rejected the notion that the only way students could learn and serve legitimately in a research university was academic service-learning, the program administrators believed that pushing an academic service-learning agenda was essential to institutionalizing these efforts in the early years of the Center. In that sense, academic service-learning was seen as a means, not an end to achieving a broader objective:

I...distinguish...between an emphasis on the academic side as a strategic temporary part of organizational development or pushing the envelope on experiential education versus a position that that is the goal. So, for example, we have debated...about the desirability of lodging experiential education very strongly in the disciplines. I feel...that strategically, that is very important to do and also for its own sake, it's good to do but I don't feel it's *the* objective for experiential education.

A staff member added that while service-learning activities had leadership and focus in the Center, student development and connection to the community were "happening by accident." Public Service Education was seen by staff as a way to integrate academics, student development and community engagement. Several people acknowledged that very few, if any, universities were taking this approach to making public service part of their institution's educational missions. A staff member stated that Stanford typically was on the forefront of developing models and strategies for public service and service-learning and that "we've been kind of against the grain pretty much forever." She emphasized that "going opposite the field" acknowledged that defining service-learning narrowly was important to developing credibility but was problematic because it assumed that any activity associated with faculty was inherently superior. Program staff confirmed that when they attended professional meetings and conferences, they found that Stanford was relatively alone in pursuing this strategy.

A program administrator described some of the barriers the Center faced as they tried to redefine their objectives:

I don't hear too many people saying ['public service education']. I think the tendency is, if I'm in certain circles where it's faculty-dominated or faculty-oriented, I hear one thing. In fact, the choice of the term 'service-learning' is indicative, I feel, of a position already taken that there's a push towards rigor, but I feel narrowly defined.... It puts the discourse in the mode where it assumes that because the goal is to embed it within the

academy, it necessarily means it must fit the standards of already existing disciplinary definition of rigor within each discipline. So, that doesn't seem like progress to me. It seems more like an appropriation of a part of service or experiential education that the higher ed community has chosen to embrace but isn't really dealing with the fundamental, if you will, radical questions raised by experiential education about what education ought to be like which is, I think, a broader question than how can we make it rigorous.

One way in which these barriers played out was when faculty saw public service education competing with students' time in the classroom. The staff was trying to introduce a more holistic view of education that presented public service education as enhancing and reinforcing existing coursework instead of competing with it or seeing the two as mutually exclusive.

While supporting a spectrum of public service activities was seen as important, staff members believed that it was important to ensure quality within that spectrum. When asked if there were any areas that were deemed potentially problematic in terms of quality, a program administrator answered:

What I call 'drive by public service,' which are those one day things. And the one day public service--there are two types and one is truly poorer quality. The one type is it's already part of an ongoing sustained activity of a non profit organization to do "X" and it so happens that they offer opportunities for one day service. That's altogether different from a one day service that was designed just for...that group of people to be able to do something. And the latter is much more prevalent in dorms, fraternities and so forth when they try to come up with an activity and they want to do an "X". So, what we're trying to do is try to convince more groups to do one day service if that's what they want to do as a part of some nonprofit group's activities.

In recognizing the importance of community voice, the staff believed that it was important to provide a service that was *needed* and *wanted* within the community. Activities were more effective if they were coordinated as part of an ongoing initiative in the community so that efforts were less fragmented and more long-term. Subsequently the Center moved away from a clearinghouse model that evolved from the Student Volunteer Network when the Center was created, to developing activities that were part of longer-term, more developed partnerships with the community.

Current Haas Center Programs and Activities¹¹

The Haas Center was staffed by 25 people at the time of this study (<http://haas-fmp.stanford.edu/about/>). The Center supported a number of programs initiated by students, faculty and staff; many of these programs were housed within the Haas Center. Some of the programs that connected service with the academic curriculum included:

- **Alternative Spring Break:** engages students in service alternatives accompanied with directed reading as an alternative to spring breaks
- **Faculty Forum in Public Service Education:** provides a forum for faculty engaged or interested in service-learning to come together on a regular basis
- **Public Service Scholars Program:** offers students an opportunity to conduct public service-oriented honors theses within a community of learners
- **Service-Learning Initiative Fund:** provides funding to faculty interested in creating new service-learning courses
- **Public Scholarship Initiative Fund:** provides funding for faculty interested in engaging students in public scholarship
- **Stanford in Silicon Valley:** creates service-learning partnerships between Stanford and community organizations in Silicon Valley
- **Stanford Irvine Institute for Diversity in the Arts:** engages participants in a collaborative process to create visual and performing art that encourages dialogue around issues such as diversity and social consciousness
- **Stanford in Washington:** provides undergraduates with the opportunity to work and study in Washington D.C. while earning credit

Stanford also had 40-50 service-learning courses through which students pursued academic study that was integrated with public service experience in the community. These courses were found in a wide range of departments. Examples of courses included:

- **Human Biology 143: Globalization, Labor, and the Environment**
- **Civil and Environmental Engineering 148: Design and Construction of Affordable Housing**
- **Linguistics 73: African American Vernacular English**
- **Urban Studies 120: Building Community**
- **Anthropology 168B: Environmental Justice**
- **Public Policy 192: Social Entrepreneurship**

¹¹ Information in this section was obtained from a 2002 Haas Center Public Service Inventory.

- **Education 102: Culture, Class and Educational Opportunity**
- **English 1, 2, 3: Program in Writing Rhetoric: Community Writing Project**

Student-directed service activities included:

- **Alternative Spring Breaks**
- **Habitat for Humanity**
- **Stanford Project on Nutrition (SPOON)**
- **Stanford Model United Nations (SMUN)**
- **Scientists and Engineers for Public Outreach (SEPO!)**
- **Alpha Phi Omega Co-ed Service Fraternity**
- **La Familia Queer Latina/Chicano support group**
- **Korean Tutorial Project**
- **Stanford Youth Project (SYP) Mentoring Program**
- **Stanford in Government (SIG)**
- **Students for Environmental Action at Stanford (SEAS)**
- **Stanford Labor Action Coalition (SLAC)**

Haas Center Staff-directed activities included:

- **One East Palo Alto (OEPA):** OEPA was a four-year, resident-driven Neighborhood Improvement Initiative focused on improving neighborhoods within East Palo Alto
- **Ravenswood Reads:** This tutoring program was merged with the American Reads program to provide tutoring in East Palo Alto schools
- **Upward Bound:** This program provides first-generation college bound high school students with support they need to prepare for and succeed in postsecondary education
- **Community Service Work Study:** This program is a federally-supported program co-administered with the Financial Aid Office to allow students to serve in non-profit and government agencies to fulfill work requirements that are stipulated in their financial aid packages

The Haas Center also had programming geared towards developing students for a lifetime of service. Activities under this rubric included:

- **Making a Living/Making a Difference:** This partnership with the Career Development Center and the Office of Religious Life is designed to encourage students to pursue public service careers
- **Public Service Fellows:** Peer advisors in this program help other students find ways to incorporate public service into their Stanford experience

- **Stanford Leaders for Public Service:** This intensive, year-long program trains students to become leaders both at Stanford and for their lives after they graduate
- **Visiting Mentor Program:** Distinguished public service professionals are appointed as mentors to students, faculty and staff at Stanford

The Haas Center was home to a number of fellowship opportunities available to students and recent graduates. Many of these fellowships were endowed by alumni donors. Two of the oldest fellowship programs available through the Haas Center were the John Gardner Public Service Fellowship Program and Stanford in Government. The Gardner Fellowship Program was created around the time the Public Service Center was founded. It provided three seniors with \$20,000 each to work with a mentor in a government or non-profit agency who helped prepare graduates for a life of public service.

Stanford in Government, which was founded in 1963 and was one of Stanford's oldest student-run organizations, "provides a wide variety of educational, public service and community service opportunities to students including fellowship and internship resources" (www.stanford.edu/group/SIG/what.htm). Stanford in Government had three main goals: "encouraging campus awareness of political issues; strengthening community service efforts; and providing internship resources and fellowships." The Program focused primarily on providing students with opportunities in government and public policy settings.

Knowledge and Legitimacy

A program administrator described how one of the challenges to implementing public service education was overcoming the dominant belief that utility-based research was less than "academic." She believed that this bias helped explain why some departments were more likely to support service-learning and public scholarship than others. She stated:

There is a false dichotomy that has been made all these years, which is relevant to our discussion of academic rigor, which would explain [the lack of participation from] Sociology and Political Science in my mind, which is the extent to which value of knowledge is associated with pure understanding as in theory building. And the other is seen as kind of a degradation of academic rigor, which is pure utility.

A senior administrator added that theory and practice are valued differently in research universities in general:

You know, that's a mistrust of application. It's a mistrust of getting out in the world and gathering data and doing data intensive analyses that have policy ramifications.... I think it really does signal a kind of suspicion on the part of many academics of anything that smacks that clearly of practice and application or interdisciplinary work.

He added that, in general, faculty in Humanities and Sciences at Stanford tended to mistrust the interdisciplinary programs.

Educational Public Outreach

In fall of 2001, the Office of the Dean of Research Office asked the Haas Center to collaborate with them on Educational Public Outreach (EPO) for science research projects. According to a program administrator, the impetus behind this request was a lack of documentation about Stanford's community outreach activities, which influenced government-funded research proposals negatively. Over the past two years science researchers faced increased pressure from government agencies such as the National Science Foundation (NSF) and NASA to develop stronger Educational Public Outreach activities in their grant proposals. The rationale behind EPO was one of public accountability to provide taxpayers with benefits and evidence of scientific advancements.

The Office of the Dean of Research took notice when a large NSF grant proposal submitted by Stanford was not funded because the proposal had a weak plan for public outreach. According to an administrator:

Well, what's happening is the PIs for these research projects are going to the Vice Provost for Graduate Research because many of them are losing out in the competition for NSF funds because they don't have a good enough proposal for public outreach. So, the EPO, Education and Public Outreach component of NSF, NASA funding is getting tighter and tighter, more and more rigorous and because of that, they run to that office who has come to us to say, 'oh, well, help these people do the outreach.' They said 'you do that really well. Go do it!'

The Research Office called on the Haas Center to help them become more informed about outreach activities on campus, so that they could be more helpful to researchers submitting proposals and carrying out public outreach activities. Given that Stanford received approximately 40% of its revenue from research funding, administrators were looking for

ways to respond to these pressures. A program administrator talked about how unusual the Dean of Research's request was:

We all got called to a meeting...by the Dean of Research that was suddenly quite worried about Stanford's ability to get government grants because the government was beginning to ask questions about what kind of community service were the grantees engaged in.... A bunch of us got called into the room and [they] said, 'help, what can we do?' So here's the University begging people to work with the Haas Center. And that was certainly new.

This collaboration created some significant potential opportunities for the Haas Center in terms of collaborating with science researchers to carry out their EPO. A staff member saw these partnerships as a potential "win-win" situation where the Haas Center has the opportunity to outreach more broadly on campus, and researchers could use the Center to provide better science outreach to communities. The Haas Center negotiated with the Solar Physics Department to help them do public outreach for a five-year research project. If funded, the Haas Center would receive 1% of the \$55 million budget over five years to provide outreach opportunities. Another program administrator realized how significant these partnerships could be to the Haas Center's future: "I think I have found the trojan horse and, I think, if we play that well, if you interviewed us in 2010, there might be remarkable changes here." She expressed some concern, however, about how involved the science researchers would be in collaborating on science outreach:

I pushed and probed with these folks because I was fearful that we would be left holding the bag, you know, and we would have these standards for outreach and they wouldn't care. They'd say, 'just go do it.' [However] ...not only do they care about civic engagement and all the parts that I care about like civic engagement of emerging scientists among undergrads, they model that scientists care about what value they bring to the public given that it's tax dollars and that there are ways to measure the impact of their work, whether it's dissemination of the information in accessible language or whatever it is, that they care about it. They're writing us into their proposal.... The trojan horse is the ability of the institution to be highly competitive for science research projects funded by the government.... The NSF is no longer willing to look at fluffy outreach stuff coming from these proposals and the expectation for more and more sophisticated types of outreach is increasing. So, there may be a role here for us to serve science research centers after we pilot this one. But we've already gotten inquiries from other research centers...so I'm thinking, this may be a way to go for research one universities.

A staff member added that while she was pleased that this situation could change the face of public service in research universities, she was reminded that it took that external pressure to make the institution take notice: "This NSF challenge, in essence, is changing the ground rules and those eventually have to be recognized by the institution, it seems to me. And it is unfortunate that it takes that kind of pressure sometimes to do that."

Student Advocacy

In general, faculty and administrators felt that over the years experiential programs that included elements of advocacy or activism sometimes were more vulnerable within the University. On the one hand, they felt that the University should support student action; however, whenever the action was too close to home there tended to be some resistance. A program administrator described how the issue of advocacy surfaced at the Haas Center around 1994:

Well, I thought, we came to a really good place on [advocacy in the Haas Center]. It got provoked one year when the hunger strike was going on campus and we had an advisor coordinating and...some of the student groups were involved in the hunger strike and cared about those issues, certainly cared about the East Palo Alto issue and a bunch of them corralled...the Advisory Board members at the meeting and gave them a hard time, I guess. I mean, I thought they were being incredibly ultra sensitive but the good part that came out of it, you know, one day we had like a three hour long Advisory Board discussion about it, and then [a board member] sat in my office for another three hours after. But the good thing that came out of it was we put together a Student / Staff Committee and hammered out an advocacy policy, which I presume is still operational, that made a place for advocacy in the Haas Center, which gave students guidelines.... That could have gone the wrong way, and we would have been in a...terrible position saying, 'advocacy is not a part of public service' but we had people on the Board, and certainly those of us among the staff, we made a pretty strong case that we cannot avoid advocacy, we just have to figure out how to do it well. Well, the big worry on the part of the Advisory Board was that if this gets out of hand, you're going to be in big trouble with the administration, so let's fix it. That was one of the things that they were worried about. They were worried about Gerhard [Casper] getting upset.

Another program administrator described the specific parameters of advocacy that were in place and how difficult it was to reconcile goals of civic engagement with advocacy that the administration would find acceptable:

Yeah, we have a policy, a written policy on advocacy. And that policy is pretty much a restatement in a different form and context of the rules applied to, like, lobbying, election campaigns, that kind of lobbying...that kind of work, that University facilities can't be used for that and you have to do it in your own private dorm room and, you know, we have all of that.... On one hand, I'm very sensitive to and want to work on the problem of the disconnect between civic engagement, which includes political activity and community service which everybody is talking about now--I have that concern. On the other hand, we're insisting on this advocacy policy being followed and, I think, at first blush, students might see that as contradictory.

According to the Haas Center for Public Service Policy on Advocacy and Partisan Political Activity (July 17, 1995): "The Haas Center does not advocate. Individuals and groups may advocate for issues, whether on or off campus, but they do so on behalf of themselves or their groups only" (p. 2). There was a concern that the Haas Center be seen as an advocate itself if Haas Center students used the Center as a forum for advocacy.

Current Support from Administration

Informants offered varying opinions about the level of support for the Haas Center from the Vice Provost of Undergraduate Education's (VPUE) Office. Most believed that the Office was quite supportive of the Haas Center, particularly with providing funding. According to one program administrator:

I would say that as a unit, [the VPUE's Office] is the biggest stronghold of support among the administrative leadership and staff. They have gone as far as giving us significant pots of money, which is...a criterion that I'd say really speaks strongly about that. \$50K for research...community-based research projects to support that. For faculty to engage...undergrads to do research projects. The past four years, \$50K each year to support service-learning courses taught by faculty. And last year, they were a little poorer so [only] \$25K, which we matched \$25K to make up the \$50K again, but they've been our staunchest supporter.

Another program administrator, however, had the following thoughts about the VPUE's support:

I think he's been dragged into [being] a supporter because he's seen that it seems to appeal to people and students care about it, some faculty care about it, donors care about it--that's caused him to care about it. It wasn't on the top of his list....

Informants generally agreed that the current President and Provost were very supportive of the Haas Center. According to informants, the President and Provost made efforts to participate directly in supporting Haas Center activities:

I hear that [the Provost and President] have been great. And I had [the President] come and talk in my class. [The President] is amazing--he took two hours [to talk about] his experience in Silicon Valley and what he thinks is unique and what are Stanford's contributions. It was a great class.

Another program administrator concurred:

When President Hennessy was inaugurated, I nearly fell off my chair because in his inaugural speech, he mentioned the Haas Center....several times and community relations several times and then, of course...the most significant, practical thing that happened was to be approved by the Provost to have a slot in the Campaign for Undergraduate Education because almost all of it is Academic Affairs. We're practically the only part of it that is not.... The Provost does come [to the Haas Center]. Personally, he spent an entire hour with me and another staff person to get acquainted with the Haas Center. He came and visited with our National Advisory Board and said we are 'a jewel in the crown of Stanford University.' He uses pretty strong language. He could say the word, 'important' or something like that but 'a jewel in the crown'--that's pretty strong.

In 2001, the Provost invited the Director of the Haas Center to present "Stanford in the Community - The Untold Story" to the Faculty Senate of the Academic Council. The Haas Center staff saw this invitation as a message of institutional support for public service.

It came from the Provost. He said, I'd like you to address the Faculty Senate on public service, not service-learning, but public service in general at Stanford and, I think, what he had in mind was the controversy and the lack of quality relationships that Stanford [had] with its immediate communities and, I think, he wanted to encourage the faculty to think more proactively about how we might repair those relationships or improve or have more positive relationships. So, I think, that was the immediate institutional context that provided a rationale or excuse for me to address the Senate. And I had the sense that they wanted me to succeed. So, it was not like they were trying to censor me but they just wanted to make sure that I would succeed.... What that unleashed was faculty calling me up who I didn't even know who they were.... For example, a professor of English Literature whose focus is Shakespeare, he said, 'I've been tenured, you know, I am altogether secure, can do pretty

much anything I want and I'd like to make Shakespeare accessible to disadvantaged youth--tell me how I could do that, etc.' So, all these things started coming through--even the thing about the Science Research Center outreach, it was a lot of impact just from that one thing. And I think it's a way for the leadership to bless something.

The message in the presentation echoed some of the issues that came up with the government research and public outreach. Stanford's story remained "untold" because of a lack of documentation about Stanford's deep history with public service. To date the Haas Center had identified 319 organized service efforts within 20 major departments at Stanford; however, there were many more efforts that were unaccounted for. In the Faculty Senate meeting minutes the Director was quoted as saying, "Lack of familiarity with its own public service strengths limits Stanford's ability to advocate for itself" (Stanford University Academic Council, June 14, 2001, p. 6). She added that when those doing service work across campus are unaware of others' efforts, they cannot benefit from the knowledge of their peers and colleagues about best practices. In order to increase awareness about public service at Stanford, she recommended researching its public service history and creating a system to track public service activities annually.

Resources

The Haas Center had approximately a \$2 million operating budget, about half of which was raised through donors, grants and contracts (<http://haas-fmp.stanford.edu/default.htm>). A program administrator talked about the difficulties of relying on external funding:

We've always struggled with that. It's been an amazing 16% of our budget that comes from the University annual allocation. The next largest comes from designated or restricted endowment and then the other is an unrestricted endowment, but about 40 to 50% of our annual budget comes from external funding. In the past there was a sense that if you can get funding for it, go with it. But over the period of years, which I think is reflective of the organizational maturity and development of the Center, we've come to a place where we've been able to define or identify our basic functions to the Center such that it's no longer acceptable for those basic functions to be vulnerable to annual questions about where the funding is coming from. And that we're going to aim to have hard money behind those functions and keep on external funds everything that we consider R&D--like launching new initiatives, experimenting with pilot

programs, our research projects--things that don't need to have a permanent life.

In 2002, the Center was approved for new endowment goals of \$9.75 million as part of Stanford's \$1 billion Campaign for Undergraduate Education (CUE). This endowment would reduce some of the pressures described above. The staff considered itself fortunate to be part of the CUE, since a majority of the Campaign was focused on Academic Affairs. The Haas Center was unusual in that units housed within Student Affairs typically did not conduct much fundraising. A staff member stated that "there was nothing automatic about that. We had to make the case to the Provost that we could actually be included as an official part of the billion dollar campaign. That took quite a long time." She added that the Provost was convinced that the Haas Center needed more sustainable funding at this point in its life cycle. In addition, the endowments were intended to support their work with the academic core because of its history of being supported by soft money. "And arguably, that's the foundation of what this place is really about over the long haul. So, that's the part that needs to be replaced with new endowment money so that we can have a stable staff structure...." The staff reported that they had very strong connections with the University's Development Office. A program administrator mentioned that hiring a staff member devoted to development activities was an important strategy early in the Center's history.

An additional source of funding was alumni giving, particularly for endowing public service fellowships. Another program administrator described the impact of these donations:

We've had an exponential growth in fellowships for public service and that's because it's probably one of the most affordable and attractive areas for donarship by alumni because they can wrap their minds around what a fellowship is, and what it can do and the starting amounts for giving are relatively manageable. So, in the range of \$20K to \$50K giving, which seems like an enormous amount of money to me but for people who can give, that is a manageable amount of giving and to fully endow something, you would aim for \$100K to \$200K that would enable a fellowship to flourish over time. And what we're discovering...this is my guess, that if we were to do a survey of these alumni who are giving, they come from the '60's, who have now raised their kids, sent them to college, are looking at their social responsibility and don't find much in the institution that they care for and so they find, 'oh, public service...oh, well, then I

can give to that,' kind of thing. So...some of the giving is I think symbolic and expressive of this disdain for the rest of the institution and saying, 'oh, well, thank god, there's something good.'

She added that it was difficult to get donors to understand that the public service goals of the Center went beyond student volunteerism:

It's less intuitive for people. I think public service is still seen primarily, a matter of a change of heart. And not a matter of deepening internationality around a design whose purpose is to achieve outcomes both [for] learning and practical things of value to the community. I think that's...not in the consciousness of the institution pretty much and so that's a little hard to deal with.

Overall, with few exceptions, the outlook for resources seemed fairly certain given the administration's commitment to institutionalizing some of the Haas Center's functions.

Institutionalization

Although they described the institutionalization process as "slow and steady," faculty, staff, and administrators concurred that the Haas Center was institutionalized at Stanford, with strong support from current senior administrators and a core group of faculty. A program administrator said, "I think, when institutions are very aware or painfully aware of their status, there's much more debate about whether or not we should have this in our offerings. And since Stanford is not particularly debating their status, unless it's like vis-a-vis Harvard or something like that then it doesn't seem to figure into at all." A program administrator reflected on the strategy the Center had followed and its future vision:

I think it's been hugely effective. I think it has spelled a difference between marginalization and being as strong as we are, strongly positioned as we are now. I think [the second director] took the direction that mattered in the life of the organization because the founder was much more oriented towards volunteerism. [The second director] very much emphasized the building of a faculty constituency and the Faculty Steering Committee was a very important part of that.... It's in the context of a huger vision about what higher education ought to look like and, I think, it's couched in my critique and my discomfort with what appears to be a silo effect of Student Affairs versus Academic Affairs as if learning and education required that they be such distinct, fairly autonomous entities. And, I think, that we're trying to develop a pedagogy at the Haas Center that sees all of these pieces as all of one cloth and that we would like,

someday, to be able to name what we do without being forced to locate it either in Academic Affairs or Student Affairs.

Program administrators said that their strategy for institutionalizing the Haas Center was to recruit students interested in public service who started demanding better linkages between their service and academic activities. At that point they were able to reach out slowly to a core group of faculty who were considered opinion leaders. A few informants agreed that faculty involvement in service-learning had “plateaued” to some degree, which led them to outreach more broadly. While service-learning spread on campus, informants were still concerned about some of the barriers that existed to sustaining efforts at the level of the individual faculty member. One program administrator cited the following barriers to continued faculty involvement:

I think, faculty interest is hard to sustain because by nature it's just too hard to do.... We used to say, 'well, we can't keep supporting this group because we've been supporting them for 5 years, and we need to try somebody new.' But on the other hand, why shouldn't we keep supporting them? Nobody else is going to support them. And there was never a good answer to those discussions. It was just resource limitations and that ultimately, I have felt, in the last few years, particularly when I travel around to other places, that we maybe had too intensive and rigid a model of service-learning. If you really want to institutionalize it on a larger scale, then you've got to have a lot of service-learning courses that are just less than the kind of very intensive, you know, community-university partnership, the internship model that a lot of us grew up with and believe in. It's too expensive in terms of time and money to run on a large scale.... I think it just needs to be a continuum. I think there needs to be a big tent of service-learning. Why should we be exclusive?

A staff member added that the nature of the tenure system could discourage junior faculty from participating:

Until this kind of work can be recognized as something that really should contribute positively in that context for junior faculty in particular, I think people are taking huge risks by getting involved. That's why we invited the senior faculty mostly [to participate in the faculty institutes]. And that was at Provost Rice's recommendation. She said, 'if you're going to do it, don't ask anyone to risk their careers' and that was basically how it was perceived.

She added that junior faculty, however, were often those most enthusiastic about participating in the Center's efforts, which led to a Catch-22. An administrator added his perspective about why faculty would be reluctant to participate:

Tenure is harder to get. More faculty members are being told... 'concentrate on your research. Don't teach extra...don't get interested in faddish stuff...it's not going to be around.' I think that thoughtful people who think hard about it don't view it that way but I think that young faculty may find themselves advised by more senior faculty to tune out all the peripheral stuff...including making serious experiments with their classroom teaching....

Concerns about sustaining academic service-learning reflected the shift in mission to a broader range of public service education activities, including those that were less demanding of faculty members' time. This shift was important because several informants recognized that faculty were key to institutionalizing the Haas Center's efforts. An administrator stated: "I think the President can lead and can get something going and get students talking about it, but if you really want to institutionalize its connection to the curriculum [you have to involve faculty]." He reflected on how faculty could have been recruited more actively in the early stages of the PSC:

I think...if there's one thing that I didn't do aggressively enough, it's to recruit very influential faculty support early on. I sort of left that to [the first director]. In fact, she did the next best thing which was to recruit an enthusiastic bunch of students and then they recruited faculty later in the process. But, I think, we might have done better had I gotten to work on that a little bit earlier.

In addition to sustaining faculty involvement, one of the Center's challenges was finding stable funding for programs after their initial start-up phases. According to a staff member, two of the Center's school programs had lost funding recently. "So there's always that dilemma...about ...long term programs that actually have proven themselves to be effective and the community wants but they're not sexy, new ideas." Similarly, she added that the future of the funding for the VPUE's Public Scholarship Initiatives was uncertain because funding was allocated on a yearly basis. The Center listed the Public Scholarship Initiative as a giving opportunity with the Development Office to try to increase funding certainty. The staff believed that being included in the Campaign for Undergraduate Education would provide more stable funding.

As the Haas Center reached maturity, it had relative financial security and the blessings of the senior administration. The current focus for staff members was on deepening their practice and defining public service as part of the University's education mission. The staff realized that service-learning "absolutely does not fit for every person, every subject" and subsequently tried to engage faculty to participate in a wide range of activities. While institutionalization was an ongoing goal, several informants said that the Center's current strategy was to decentralize public service activities so that the Center no longer had to exist. A staff member stated, "We don't want to corner the market on this stuff.... We are trying to effect change at Stanford. That doesn't mean that Haas needs to hold onto every bit of it; and in fact I think we would be a failure if that were the case because then we wouldn't be changing the institution."

STANFORD IN WASHINGTON

...It's considered to be...the best of all the Washington programs (Stanford Program Administrator).

In 1985, the Provost appointed a faculty planning committee to study and make recommendations about a potential Stanford academic program in Washington D.C. The committee met with a broad set of constituents across campus to examine the possibility of developing a Stanford in Washington (SIW) Program. The Committee also went through a lengthy and extensive process of gathering information on academic and internship programs operated in Washington D.C. by other colleges and universities. In particular, Stanford looked at programs sponsored by Cornell, Smith, Dartmouth, and American University (Planning Committee Report, 1986). A program administrator recalled that the research that went into the proposal was extensive and "I think that's one of the reasons that it's considered to be...the best of all the Washington programs." She described that staff and faculty at other universities were helpful in sharing information about their programs, which enabled Stanford to get a sense for what worked well and what didn't work well in these programs.

The central goal of Stanford in Washington was to provide "Stanford students with an opportunity to extend their education in ways best served in the setting of the nation's capital" (Planning Committee Report, 1986, p. 2). The Committee saw the internship as the key component of the program. They established that the internship was to last at least three months "to realize its full educational value" (Planning Committee Report, 1986, p. 2). The Committee agreed that the internships would focus on public policy; however, the program would also serve students with other interests such as art, history, economics, science, etc. There was an implicit goal that the Program would either engage students directly in or open the possibility for them to engage in public affairs:

For some Stanford students, the internship will be an extension of well-developed policy interests and training; for others it will be a well-thought-through experience in or near the public arena that otherwise would not occur, and that may open the student toward reentry to the public arena later in life (Planning Committee Report, 1986, p. 2).

The current SIW brochure emphasized that internship possibilities were available in all areas such as the arts, humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences.

The Planning Committee recommended that the Program should be a highly selective one in terms of student selection. The Committee wanted to distinguish the Program from other programs such as overseas studies, whom they did not view as highly selective. The Committee proposed a starting class of 15 with maximum enrollment of 30 students each term.

The Program was funded originally by the University and by donors, according to a program administrator. She added that the student tuition and room and board charges provided a small stream of revenue for the Program. The Program continued to operate partially on external funds. "In fact we've just been given a gift of about \$8 million, which will probably go toward buying the building next door and being able to expand the office and the meeting room space."

Program Overview

The proposed academic program, which according to a program administrator has remained the same since its inception, consisted of

- An internship
- A whole group seminar (4 units)
- Theme tutorials around specific policy topics (5 units)
- A major paper (3-5 units)

The academic structure was developed using a weekly tutorial, a biweekly one-on-one meeting between the student and a tutor, a group seminar with all students, and an optional major research paper. The Committee expected the paper to be derived directly from the internship site; however, students did have the possibility of developing a separate but related topic. When asked about the extent to which the Seminars were linked to students' internships, a program administrator replied:

They might talk about what goes on--I mean it's a very small group...so it's entirely possible that aspects of the internship--the student is going to be the vehicle but there's certain aspects maybe of the internship that may be talked about or incorporated into the tutorial or maybe in the seminar.

When probed further about linking the internship academically, she stated, "The University made it very explicit that there would be no credit given for the internships." Students could gain 15 credits for their semester with SIW; however, the credit came entirely from the seminars and research papers. It appeared that any linkages that were made between

the academic courses and the internship experience were not required, and occurred as the result of the individual student's or faculty member's initiative.

During the Seminar, students met weekly with a faculty member "to analyze government institutions, political processes and public policy" (SIW brochure, 2002). Topics in the past included "Policy for Children, Youth and Families," "Law and Economics," and "Power and Politics." In order to receive credit for the Seminar, students completed papers and exams. Typically two seminars were offered: one on public policy and another one such as the role of economics or telecommunications. In recent years, the Program considered offering a third seminar, such as one on international affairs and foreign policies issues, to respond to student interest. While the public policy seminar was the mainstay of the Program, the other seminar topics seemed to vary based on both the interests of the faculty member teaching it and the interest of enrolled students.

The theme tutorials brought together a small group of students led by a tutor who shared similar intellectual and policy interests. Examples of themes for tutorials included the function of regulatory administrative agencies, the formulation and administration of foreign policy, criminal justice, civil rights, energy policy and art policy. While it was ideal for students to select a tutorial that matched their internship focus, students could choose tutorials in any subject. Students were required to complete several short papers to receive credit for the theme tutorial.

A central aspect of SIW was students' participation in an unpaid internship in which they worked approximately 35 hours per week. Most internships were in government agencies and non-profit organizations, including: the Department of Education, the Department of Health and Human Services, The White House, the World Bank, the Urban Institute, the L.A. Times, The Kennedy Center, and the Children's Defense Fund, as well as internships with individual politicians. The original Planning Committee for SIW was explicit about not granting credit for the internship itself, but rather for the academic outcomes of the accompanying seminar: "No credit would be given for the internship per se, although it will afford the basis for developing the major paper, and for effective completion of the work in the theme tutorial" (Planning Committee Report, 1986, p. 4). In addition,

...The major paper will be the principal component of the Stanford-in-Washington, D.C. program through which academically creditable outcomes of the internship can be made manifest and can be assessed. Any credit granted is not for the internship itself, but for this product, and for participation in the whole-group seminar and theme tutorial (Program Committee report, 1986, p. 12).

Although the Committee stressed that a variety of opportunities would be available through the internships, the stated purpose of the program was to provide learning opportunities in public affairs. The Committee envisioned two types of internship: 1. a policy internship, which would emphasize learning about daily activities within a policymaker's office; and 2. a research internship, which would allow students to study one topic in-depth for the duration of the internship. With regard to the research internship, the Committee specified the benefits of completing an internship compared with just conducting library research. Those benefits were: the relevance of the problem formulation; access to data; experience in the real world; immersion in the research problem for an extended period; and access to a broad range of resources.

Originally the Program operated only in fall and spring; however, according to a program administrator, the University pushed SIW to operate during winter quarter as well. When asked why the University wanted to expand to an additional quarter, she said, "They wanted folks in the Winter because of the bed situation. So...we kind of followed the money at that point." The Program developed specific themes for winter quarter such as environmental policy and then later, health policy. The program administrator elaborated:

We had students who were interested in the environment and there were possibilities for funding, for environmental policy; and I think it made perfectly good sense and so we got some money to start it and...then there was kind of a downturn in the number of students who were interested in environmental policy, and we were trying to decide whether to open it up or what to do. And then it made perfectly good sense to link it with health policy because...there are a lot of issue areas in which those two meet...are complimentary and so forth.

When asked about the extent to which she perceived SIW to be experiential and related to public service, she said:

I don't think we really talk about it that much in [terms of experiential] but it is experiential, you know what I mean? I think there's no question about that whatsoever.... There's a tendency for some people, I think, to separate what they perceive of--is this community service and government

service--and don't see that they necessarily fall under the same rubric as public service. I do. I mean I have from the get go just assumed that everything was public service.

When asked whether she considered SIW to count as service learning, she thought that it was a stretch, although some of the internships certainly met the requirement of responding to community needs, particularly if one counted larger global needs.

Structure and Administration

The SIW Planning Committee recommended selecting the Dean of the School of Humanities and Sciences to have academic oversight of SIW. They further recommended that the Public Service Center take responsibility for disseminating information to students, handling publicity, and recruiting students. The Program reported originally to the Provost and President's Office because of its initial linkages with the Public Service Center, which is now the Haas Center for Public Service. When the Public Service Center was moved out of the purview of the President's Office, SIW became administered by the School of Humanities and Sciences (H&S). SIW continued to be located in H&S, although its campus-based coordinator maintained an office at the Haas Center for Public Service where she holds a half-time appointment. Because of this arrangement, the Program had connections with both Student Affairs (to which the Haas Center reported) and the academic side of Stanford through H&S. When asked about the rationales for the various placements of SIW in the structure, a program administrator said:

And so it just ran out of [the President's office] because that's where...it started, that's where the staff was and there had been some thought along the way...because it was an academic program--about changing it but that didn't happen until there was a change in the administration.

In terms of staffing, in 1986 the Committee proposed the following structure: 1) a resident program director would oversee the academic program; and 2) another faculty member would serve as Professor in Residence on a 1 to 3-year basis and would be responsible for the main seminar as well as a tutorial. The Committee was very specific about the resident director having an academic appointment: "This person should have an Academic Council appointment, and the billet would be an incremental one, lodged formally in some one (or more) departments" (Program Committee Report, 1986, p. 15).

During the course of the proposal process the committee realized that it might be difficult to recruit an Academic Council member to fill this role:

The committee was repeatedly warned in its deliberations that Stanford has a short supply of faculty with policy interests of the type considered ideal for the Washington, D.C. program. Departments need to be encouraged to accept the absence of valuable faculty members for one or two years for this assignment. Existing academic programs on campus which depend on these faculty for teaching and leadership could be seriously set back by their departure even for one year. Replacement teaching costs should be furnished to the home department of the Professor in Residence (Program Committee Report, 1986, p. 15).

While ideally, Stanford wanted the professor in residence, who taught the group seminar, to be from the faculty, that wasn't always the case. According to a program administrator, the Program sometimes had difficulty finding faculty willing to move across the country for an extended period of time:

The ideal was that there would always be visiting faculty members, but in reality, you can't always get them...so, sometimes we have some problems in getting people but we don't have any problems in getting people at the other end who are very well qualified to teach.

There were a number of Stanford faculty who cycled through the Program on a regular basis, though. When asked about hiring faculty from Washington D.C. for the policy tutorials, she added "Yeah, I think the faculty here may not consider [the people we hire in Washington as real faculty]."

The specific proposed responsibilities of the resident program director included participating in the whole group seminar, appointing and supervising tutors, building and maintaining internship sites and serving as liaison between Stanford and Washington D.C. agencies, participating in recruiting and selecting students, and assisting with fundraising. The professor in residence would be responsible for the whole group seminar, planning the theme tutorials, and supervising and evaluating students' major papers (Program Committee report, 1986). When asked about faculty incentives for participating in SIW, a program administrator replied: "Well, for many of them, it's the research opportunities. They only teach one class and they get to teach...very wonderful, smart, enthusiastic, high energy undergrads...."

Tutors who would teach the theme tutorials were to be recruited in the Washington D.C. area and ideal candidates included “higher level civil servants with substantial academic background, or research fellows at various ‘think tank’ institutions, or curators at the Smithsonian” (Planning Committee Report, 1986, p. 9). The committee added that although most tutors would come from policy organizations in Washington D.C., Stanford graduate students who were conducting research in Washington D.C. would also be a possible source for tutors.

At the time of this study, SIW was staffed by a program director in Washington (who was an Academic Council member), a staff member in charge of program administration, a financial and facilities manager, an assistant to the director and an on-campus program coordinator. A professor in residence cycled through the Program for short periods of time.

INTERDISCIPLINARY PROGRAMS AT STANFORD

I wouldn't ever trade an education that stressed problem-solving for one that rewarded memorization in the guise of academic rigor (Human Biology faculty member).¹²

While IDPs provide unique teaching opportunities, they also remain topics of considerable concern in the School, be it in terms of their proliferation, the adequacy of their funding, the strength of ongoing faculty support and other issues (Ad Hoc Advisory Committee on Interdepartmental Programs).¹³

Stanford supported 17 undergraduate interdisciplinary programs (IDPs), many of which were created to respond to the perceived inadequacies of disciplinary approaches in departments. Several IDPs required or strongly encouraged their students to participate in some type of experiential learning, most notably the Human Biology Program, the Urban Studies Program, and the Public Policy Program. Experiential learning took many forms in these programs, for example internships, service-learning courses, and honors theses. Because of resource constraints, most of the IDPs connected students to opportunities that existed formally in other units such as Stanford in Washington, the Haas Center for Public Service, and the Undergraduate Research Programs. The IDPs described in this section were significant to this study because of their strong experiential and applied focus. Similar to some of the other programs in this study, the IDPs were often a topic of debate regarding the programs' continued existence and the resources allocated to them.

The Human Biology Program

The Human Biology Program was created in 1969 with a Ford Foundation grant of almost \$2 million dollars used to pilot the program for five years. According to a thirty-year retrospective (The Human Biology Program, 2001), the program was founded "in response to questions about education raised in the late 1960s, a turbulent time of social and political unrest" (p. 2). Students felt that their education should address important issues of that time such as environmental crises, poverty and racial inequality. Students and faculty felt that despite some of the major advances in scientific research, knowledge resulting from basic research sometimes resulted in ethical, social and political dilemmas and failed to alleviate society's most significant problems. Faculty felt that interdisciplinary problem-solving approaches were essential to addressing these societal

¹² Source: *The Program in Human Biology*, (2001), p. 32.

¹³ Source: (Robinson, 2000).

problems and sought to link the social sciences with biological sciences. In essence, they sought to “humanize biology” and “biologize human studies” (p. 8). The Human Biology Program was an integrated approach to the biological sciences at Stanford that would give students “an interdisciplinary perspective on the relationship between the biological and social aspects of humanity’s origin, development, and prospects” (p. 8). During its founding, the Human Biology faculty consisted of renowned scholars across various disciplines. In the later years, Program leaders hired short-term guest experts and visiting scholars to augment the faculty pool (www.stanford.edu/dept/humbio/About/aboutSplash.shtml).

An intentional part of the Program’s structure was to “borrow” departmental faculty to teach courses to insure faculty in Human Biology were there because they had a strong commitment to it. Student interest in the Program was strong--the first class offered in 1970 drew enrollments of 427 students instead of the 50 the founding faculty had projected (The Program in Human Biology, 2001). During the early years, the Human Biology faculty sought feedback from students regularly about the Program. The faculty discovered that students felt a need to apply what they were learning to practical situations. In a report on the Program’s history (2001), the following description was included about how the internships came about:

Practical field experience had been envisioned by the founders as an important part of the program. Soon it became a requirement for the major. Each student was required to design a ‘workshop’ (now called an internship) that provided laboratory or field experience in his or her area of concentration (p. 18).

Each student in the Program had to write a “workshop proposal” and have it approved by a faculty member. This faculty member served as the student’s advisor and evaluated the student’s internship report at the end of his or her experience. Many of the internship sites included community-based organizations, medical clinics, architectural firms, city-planning offices and government agencies. Examples of specific placements and fieldwork activities included volunteering in programs for the disabled; conducting demographic studies of Bogota squatter populations; investigating air pollution effects; and researching mass-media coverage of environmental problems. One of the more notable internship experiences available to students was working with world-renowned

primatologist, Jane Goodall, in Gombe studying the social behavior of chimpanzees. The Gombe fieldwork program continued until three Human Biology students were kidnapped by rebels in 1975. Despite this incident, students often claimed that the internships were the best experiences they had during their undergraduate years.

In 1979, after a workshop and honors program coordinator was hired, the “workshops” were changed to “internships.” The coordinator introduced more rigor and structure to the internships, focusing particularly on evaluation. In addition, “students were encouraged to relate their internships to their chosen areas of concentration” (p. 32). In responding to the criticism that Human Biology lacked academic rigor, one of its directors was quoted as saying, “I wouldn’t ever trade an education that stressed problem-solving for one that rewarded memorization in the guise of academic rigor” (p. 32). Students enrolled in HB 197 for four units of ungraded credit to fulfill their major internship requirement. According to a Hum Bio faculty member, students had to work 120 hours during their undergraduate careers in an internship setting. The internship was open to all undergraduates.

When asked about the purpose of the internship, this faculty member stated that students used the experience to achieve different goals: “They get a foretaste of a career they might be thinking of to trying something they’ve never done before, to learn something about a new field.” Students had to write a written reflection about what they learned from the internship and submitted it at the completion.

During the mid to late 1980s, undergraduates initiated a number of service efforts to help the community. For example, “In 1985, six Hum Bio students were given the Dean’s Award for Distinguished Service to the University in recognition of their having organized a four-day symposium called “The AIDS Challenge: The Costs of Not Caring” (The Program in Human Biology, 2001, p. 44). In 1987, two Human Biology undergraduates created the Stanford Medical Youth Science Program, to encourage gifted, but disadvantaged high school students from East Palo Alto to pursue careers in health. The high school students participated in a five-week program at Stanford where they took classes, went on scientific field trips and worked in hospitals. That same year another student founded the Stanford Youth Environmental Science Program, which was also a residential program for disadvantaged but gifted high school students. During the early

1990s, the Program placed an increased emphasis on undergraduate research through the Summer Honors College. In addition they created the Human Biology Field Seminar Program, which allowed students to gain hands-on experience through a travel/study program that combined coursework and field experience in other countries.

During the 1990s, the curriculum evolved to improve the internships through service-learning pedagogy. Students could choose to participate in any service-learning course offered at Stanford to fulfill their major internship requirement. According to a faculty member, the faculty supported service-learning because "...it seeks to improve the internship experience. Students can be trained in advance for their internship work, more advising is available, and there is opportunity for reflection when an internship is completed." A faculty member described the context that led to this evolution, including some of the problems encountered because of the ways students would participate in the community:

One was, you met with the clinic directors who were, on the one hand, happy to have Stanford students but incredibly upset because they felt they were just being studied. Number two, the students would come in, do something fabulous like set a database and then leave and no one knew how to run it or anything. So, they had to learn the skills and, I guess, the third was that there was a bit of a cultural mismatch. They'd show up in a BMW or something. That didn't suit people very well. So, service-learning now puts people back in those clinics.... [They] meet beforehand, they've got to speak the language of the local community--it's primarily Spanish. There is a commitment on the part of the clinic to tell us exactly what they need and on our part to provide that. So, if they need ongoing translation for patients, we have interns who come regularly. And then the interns themselves meet as a group and reflect on this and talk about, you know, try to learn something from this experience. So, it's kind of an enhanced internship where there is more discussion.... The regular internship has the reflection but it's internal--private thoughts yourself. This one makes them talk about it in groups.

Reciprocity, reflection and providing services that the community actually needed on a regular basis were the characteristics that distinguished service-learning from internships in the Program. This faculty member added that the written component of the service-learning was much more elaborate than the requirement for the regular internship. He noted that faculty in Human Biology believed that the service-learning component was more successful than the regular internships.

Not all students participated in service-learning where there was a more explicit link between experience and academics. When asked if the faculty had ever thought about making a more explicit link between the two, a faculty member replied:

We have and many students do so... they make an area of concentration in, for example, genetic counseling and do an internship in genetic counseling. We're not slavishly tied to that because sometimes it's good to have students do an internship that would get something that's been bothering them out of their system, right? So, people who thought they wanted to be a pre-medical student...my advice is they should go and work in a hospital and they come back and say, 'ouch! You know, this was a real dream based on nothing.' So, I think, you know, it will work both ways. We want to retain the flexibility to say, in some cases, you know, it makes sense and in others it doesn't.

A faculty member who administrated another experiential learning program on campus felt that there should have been a more explicit link to the curriculum. He had the following critique about the Human Biology Internships:

I've never been particularly impressed with the way they do their program, but it was there and it was required. It was like a 40 hour internship and write a little something at the end. It's the kind of stuff that makes life difficult for the rest of us [who do this kind of work].

In addition to service-learning, the Program placed increased emphasis on honors theses as a form of experiential learning. A faculty member described how this form of experiential learning was well-respected in the Program:

Well, I mean, maybe the most impressive experiential learning is the honors thesis process. So, a substantial fraction, maybe 45% or 50% of our students do honors. So, I got money from the Vice Provost to get sophomores into laboratories. So, during the sophomore year, the summer programs...students can go into labs and be paid for it. And that's a good experience, you know, I think, in college you're learning knowledge that you don't have a good idea of where it came from. These kids go into a lab and they say, 'yikes!' They work for ten weeks and see how slow progress is. So, they now go back and read the textbook where one sentence summarizes like eight years of work. And it just changes their whole perspective. The vast majority of those students go on to honors which is an individual research project and I call that strong experiential learning.

Funding for Human Biology was an ongoing issue over the years. "Since Human Biology's founding grant from the Ford Foundation expired in 1975, the program's support

had come from Stanford and outside donations from alumni and other benefactors. Money was always tight--a common plight for interdisciplinary programs. By the 1990s, the situation had become critical" (The Program in Human Biology, 2001, p. 56). By that time, Human Biology was the second largest major at Stanford, yet the Program received only a 9 percent budget increase between 1991 and 1998. Gifts and endowments were an important source of funding to sustain the Program. Faculty stated that interdisciplinary programs, in general, always faced more intense scrutiny than the departments. However, during the last Program Review the University renewed Human Biology's term for eight years because of the Program's strength and the role that it filled in the University.

The Public Policy Program

The Public Policy Program at Stanford was founded in 1981 to give "students the foundational skills and institutional knowledge for understanding the policy process. It provided an interdisciplinary course of study in the design, management, and evaluation of public sector programs and institutions" (www.stanford.edu/dept/publicpolicy/). Much like the Human Biology Program, the Public Policy Program relied heavily on programs such as Stanford in Washington, Stanford in Government, and service-learning courses through the Haas Center for Public Service to help students make practical applications of what they learned about public policy. A faculty member stated, "we don't require internships but we don't need to because all the students do it. And I don't like to require them because I think there's nothing worse than having an intern who is required to be there." He added that among the graduating seniors in 2001, students "averaged slightly less than two internships each per capita during a period year."

When the Public Policy Program was created, experiential learning was not explicitly a part of it. Around the time that the Public Service Center was started, a faculty member in Public Policy paid the PSC Director to teach a course called "Preparation for Internship Learning," which students took the quarter prior to their internships. This course was designed to help students make a connection between the internship and their course of study. According to a faculty member, when the Program first made connections with the Public Service Center:

...the mode of Haas Center activity was to go tutor for an hour a week or on a Saturday morning, go paint the walls of a retirement home or

something that was really low level stuff. There was very little that you would call, intensive...where there was any intellectual content to it. And so, a lot of what happened in the late '80's and early '90's was emphasizing and developing external activities that required more of a commitment and that were more integrated into what the students' academic interests were and career objectives were....

This faculty member described the two ways in which students could turn an internship experience into academic credit. First, students could take an existing course that integrated fieldwork with academic learning. For example, there was a service-learning course based in Public Policy, which was a year long sequence in "Social Entrepreneurship" through which students designed community start-ups and interned in service organizations. Another course called "Policy Making and Problem-Solving at the Local and Regional Level" engaged students in community and economic development internships in Silicon Valley over the course of two quarters. Second, students could obtain credit less formally by taking a directed reading with a faculty member one quarter and completing an internship the following quarter. When the internship was completed, students wrote some type of a paper based upon their internship, which became the basis of the academic credit. He added, "Stanford has a formal rule, which isn't always enforced, that academic credit for a course can only be given by somebody who is a member of the appointed faculty and there must be faculty supervision on all grading."

When asked how faculty responded to service-learning in the Public Policy Program, he responded: "certainly the number of faculty who are actively involved in or support it vastly outnumbers the number of faculty who are opposed and, of course, the largest number of all is the faculty who don't care." When asked if there was any resistance from faculty about integrating the field experiences with academic courses, he said that the most significant problem was that there were many courses through which it was not possible to integrate with the internships.

While resource issues were still dominant in the Public Policy Program, this faculty member was fairly optimistic about the Program's funding situation:

Public Policy is fortunate in that we have a considerable discretionary budget to spend on teaching but, you know...it's unusual. Most people, they have a hard time getting the core requirements covered.

Urban Studies

The Urban Studies Program, founded in 1985, prepared students through “developing a critical understanding of how cities evolve, and gaining knowledge of the practical and analytical tools which can help improve the quality of urban life.” In addition, “Urban Studies enables undergraduates to examine urban problems through a number of disciplinary lenses and to address these problems in a practical way” (www.stanford.edu/dept/URBS/Introduction.html). Like other IDPs, Urban Studies drew faculty from a variety of departments; however, they also relied on practitioners to teach their courses. According to a faculty member:

We also have courses that are taught by practitioners, which are among the most popular courses because students find that they can see how theoretical learning from other courses is actually applied and...the students who gravitate to Urban Studies seem to like hands on problem solving and so all this kind of comes together.

Urban Studies had a direct connection historically with SWOPSI, since Urban Studies was started originally as a SWOPSI workshop. A faculty member explained Urban Studies’ relationship with SWOPSI:

Urban Studies was born in SWOPSI. Urban Studies is the child of SWOPSI so...I am reasonably familiar with the history of SWOPSI. It didn’t have a very long history but it was an important history. SWOPSI was more free wheeling than what happens now....

One of Urban Studies’ specializations, Community Organizations, required students to complete an internship, although according to a faculty member, about 70% of all Urban Studies students completed internships anyway. The Community Organizations track was also unique in that public service was the content and not just the process that allowed students to connect study and service. For example one of the required courses was “Community Organizing,” which was taught by a faculty member associated with the Haas Center for Public Service.

There were no specific criteria about the length or nature of the internship required for the Community Organizations track other than it be credit-bearing. The Program used existing resources such as service-learning courses because “we don’t have staff to do placements, [because the IDPs] are not well supported in general” according to a faculty member. Before they adopted this approach, the Urban Studies faculty developed a model

where students identified a particular faculty member as an advisor, found an internship placement independently, and submitted an essay about the organization in which they interned. According to a faculty member, "...it was a failure" because the faculty the students approached said, "well, I have no expertise in that area. I can't evaluate an essay on that subject...." It didn't take more than a year or two for us to figure out that that wasn't going to work." A faculty member described how he developed this original model not from talking with similar programs at other universities, but by talking with practitioners in community development to see what students needed to know. He described how the Community Organizations track came to be:

We have a core that's pretty much, you know, kind of a liberal arts-- it's not very professionally oriented. It's a little history with politics and so on. It's mostly social science-oriented, that if we combined that core with some specialty courses that prepared students to work in the non profit sector, that this would be helpful to people. So I was very nervous about it, at the first, I thought it was a good idea but I wasn't sure that we would have the support for it, you know, and the enthusiasm for it and so my first stop was to go to the Haas Center and ask them if they would partner with things like internship help and placements and help me to figure out what to do, tell me where the students could get jobs and a way they could go to graduate school and so on and then one thing led to another and then...Urban Studies has a Faculty Advisory Committee so I consulted with the Committee and said, 'you know, the Haas Center is in, they're ready to go along. What do you think?' And then the faculty was very enthusiastic as well.

He added that he encountered no real faculty resistance in Urban Studies to establishing the track.

In a recent document recommending reauthorization of the Urban Studies Program (Committee on Undergraduate Studies, 2000), there was almost no direct reference to the experiential aspects of the Program by using terms such as "experiential," "internships," or "service-learning." When asked about why there were no explicit references a faculty member replied:

It's reflective of the fact that it permeates the operation although it's not like we have a sign that says, 'here's the way we do it.' It's like we have courses that our students take, for example, to build an orphanage in Mexico. I mean, we don't call that an internship course. It just is. You know, we have workshops where we had a course on Neighborhood Planning. We have clients from neighborhoods. We didn't call that a

service-learning course, it's just one of our courses. And our lecturers are all practitioners so the students have a lot of contact with people that are working in the field.

When asked about the current state of Urban Studies, this faculty member responded:

Well, I think we seem to be on some kind of steady state of equilibrium for the moment. Nobody seems to be throwing darts at us. We've received infusions of new funds...so that was good and that was a positive. There are all too many rumors that go around that say, you know, this Dean or that is against the IDPs. I wish they would stop. There was an unfortunate experience with a special committee on IDPs...the report was not favorably received by the IDP directors and that was a couple of years ago. So, I think it's more rumor as much as anything else that plagues us.

When asked if Urban Studies was ever in danger of being shut down, he said, "Yes, many times." He added that faculty or administrators tended to have the following perceptions about Urban Studies:

Too practical, that's usually the main one. [They]...don't understand it. Some Deans don't understand it so they say 'well, since I don't understand it, I'm going to close it.' We've been compared to Nursing...somebody said teaching Architecture is like teaching Gunnery at the Coast Guard Academy, I mean...we receive all kinds of unusual observations about what we do but in the final analysis, it's the students who keep it going because whenever we have trouble, we just tell the students that we're having trouble and they say, 'hey, we'll talk to the Deans.'

Despite some faculty criticism of IDPs in general, the students seemed to play an important role in keeping Urban Studies viable.

Like the other IDPs, Urban Studies had ongoing resource issues. One way in which this burden was relieved was through some funding from the UPS Foundation that they used to provide fellowships for students in conjunction with the Haas Center.

The Legitimacy of Interdisciplinary Programs

Faculty members said that experiential learning was an important facet of interdisciplinary education since it provided students with an opportunity to test and apply the knowledge they were gaining in courses. When asked about where experiential learning existed on campus, most informants stated that there was a heavy emphasis on this type of learning in interdisciplinary programs, but not necessarily the departments. In

making the link between experiential learning and interdisciplinary work, a faculty member said, "every new IDP that comes on line has adopted the internship [requirement] policy. No department has this. It's a very interest inference."

Informants from all three IDPs stated that their programs often faced criticism because of their applied and interdisciplinary nature. In faculty senate reports the IDPs were described as "thorny issues" and were "vigorously debated." In senate meetings, faculty also described a "false dichotomy" between departments and IDPs. In a *Stanford Report* article dated January 26, 2000, Robinson reported that the School of Humanities and Sciences Ad Hoc Advisory Committee on Interdepartmental Programs stated the following regarding the most recent debate about IDPs:

While IDPs provide unique teaching opportunities, they also remain topics of considerable concern in the School, be it in terms of their proliferation, the adequacy of their funding, the strength of ongoing faculty support and other issues.

According to one faculty member, the current President and Provost were very supportive of IDPs. Faculty from all three Programs mentioned resistance from administrators in Humanities and Sciences. One of them stated:

Well, the current Dean certainly does not believe in this. I mean, there is a whole drum roll against IDP's and against interdisciplinary programs. The current upper administration is very much in favor of this kind of thing. The Dean has a very different view and she thinks that anything that's not absolutely Chemistry and absolutely Biology is nuts.... She has a bee in her bonnet about IDP's and so did the last dean. Two deans ago they were really supportive.... So, it's the usual ebb and flow of irrational administrative behavior. But, you know, we'll outlive them.

Another faculty member said that an administrator in H&S:

...thinks all of this is a complete waste of time...anything that is...other-directed education as opposed to discipline-directed where you're out there involved in problem solving...particularly if it's problem solving with interdisciplinary character, you know, where you're not inventing basic knowledge, alright? He thinks it's a deflection.

The first faculty member described how faculty in his Program tried to use program evaluation data to debunk some of these perceptions among some administrators and faculty:

They just think, there's only Chemistry and everything else is sort of worse and so they can use terms like rigor and stuff like that but they are remarkably immune to data so, you know, I sort of took this on.... We sent out a review questionnaire to all of our graduates and we were looking at did this prepare you? What are you doing now? Well, you know, Hum Bio graduates get into Medical School [and] we send more people to graduate school than do Biology and Chemistry together.

Faculty noted that the IDPs were problematic because faculty billets were lodged in departments and not the IDPs, so maintaining faculty interest was sometimes challenging (Robinson, 2001). In addition to the issue of "borrowing" faculty from departments, the issue of tenure prospects for junior faculty engaged in experiential work arose in the interviews. When asked specifically about how involvement with public service and service-learning in Urban Studies influenced tenure prospects, a faculty member said the following about a junior faculty member's engagement in service-learning:

So if it's related to your research, then it's all part of the same thing that you need to be doing. If it's not, then it's suicidal, self destructive, you know? I mean, if you don't want to teach here, do it and you'll get fired.

A senior administrator generally agreed with this assessment, but acknowledged that activities related to teaching were given more consideration in tenure reviews today than they were 20 years ago.

All the IDP faculty interviewed reported that their programs were more closely evaluated and scrutinized than departments; however, that process was changing since Stanford started reviewing departments more systematically in 1999. According to a faculty member:

Every IDP is reviewed every five years, completely, and could be cancelled and you could no longer give degrees. They look at the curriculum, they look at the students.... No department was ever reviewed until three years ago when I was on the University Senate and I got this sort of legislation passed that departments [should be reviewed]. But, you know, the Math Department was last reviewed in 1895.

He added that some faculty balked at the idea that departments should be evaluated, given the strong sense of professionalism and disciplinary expertise that existed. This faculty member added that his involvement in this initiative was not well-received: "It's very interesting, of course--you become a pariah when you suggest that something should be evaluated."

CONCLUSION

The goal of this chapter was to describe the history of experiential learning at Stanford and the various forms and purposes that emerged from its adoption. During the 1970s Stanford supported several student-initiated or student-led programs, which were contested but tolerated because of the social and political climate that characterized that era. Despite its status as a private research university, Stanford made a commitment to public service almost 20 years ago, an effort led by the President of the University. The relationship between the first era during which SWOPSI, SCIRE and ARLO existed and the Public Service Center era was an interesting one in that the PSC simultaneously absorbed some of the EDPs' functions and distanced itself from their legacy. The University's public service history since the 1980s was built slowly and strategically making use of language and symbolism to establish legitimacy. The University stood by its commitment to public service and service-learning by including the Haas Center in its 2000 Capital Campaign. Support for research-based experiential learning was strong, given the emphasis of knowledge production in research universities. These dynamics are explored further in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

UNPACKING THE LEGITIMACY OF EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING IN RESEARCH UNIVERSITIES

The goal of this exploratory study was to describe and analyze the spread and legitimacy of experiential learning within two research universities. Cornell University and Stanford University provided rich contexts in which to examine how experiential learning emerged in different forms. Institutional and political theories of organizations provided a basis for understanding the various and often competing spheres of legitimacy that characterized and shaped the spread of experiential learning. Using an historical approach, the study also captured how the forms and purposes of experiential learning changed over time to correspond with shifting notions of legitimacy as defined by the academy, the experiential learning field and the external environment.

In the previous two chapters, I described the history of various experiential learning initiatives at Cornell and Stanford since 1969. I focused these case study chapters explicitly on description instead of analysis to give voice to informants in terms of their constructions of how experiential learning was defined, operationalized, contested and legitimized. The case studies described *how* experiential learning spread to and within Stanford and Cornell. This chapter addresses *why* research universities adopted, adapted, co-opted, or rejected experiential learning and analyzes why different forms emerged.

The first section of this final chapter provides a cross-case analysis comparing the spread and legitimacy of experiential learning at Stanford and Cornell. The second section consists of an analysis and synthesis of the case study findings, using my conceptual framework, as a way to unpack the various conceptions of legitimacy that evolved from this study. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications of this study and areas for further research. The following questions guided my research and frame the conclusions in this chapter:

- How and why did experiential learning come to be situated and operationalized within research universities?
- What are the purposes and legitimacy of different forms of experiential learning in research universities? How has that changed over time?

As described in Chapter 2, I adopted Suchman's (1995) definition of legitimacy in this study:

Legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions (Suchman, 1995, p. 574).

In this chapter I pay particular attention to how those perceptions and assumptions that are defined externally in the institutional environment are interpreted, influenced, and constructed continually by individuals within the Universities.

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

Isomorphism and Diffusion

Cornell and Stanford have rich histories of the ebb and flow of various types of experiential learning. When compared, their adoption of different types of initiatives are remarkably similar on a broad level. Table 5.1 compares the types of experiential learning at each university. With rare exception, both universities adopted similar initiatives and programs. In addition, the universities adopted specific initiatives at similar times. For example, both Cornell and Stanford adopted student-initiated social change programs in 1969. Both created Washington internship programs in the early 1980s, formulated plans for a Public Service Center in the mid-1980s, and created Presidential Research Scholars Programs in 1996.

According to institutional theorists, organizations become more similar over time in an effort to secure legitimacy, resulting in institutional isomorphism. In this quest for legitimacy, organizations often adopt models and practices without regard for efficiency (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977). One of the processes by which organizations become more similar is mimicry. Some elements of mimetic isomorphism were evident in this study as Stanford and Cornell mimicked their peer institutions, including one another. For example, The Stanford-in Washington Program was a direct copy of the Cornell in Washington Program, according to faculty and staff at both universities. Faculty members at Cornell reported considering Stanford's Public Service Center model as they developed their own. A Stanford program administrator said that he referenced the Field Study Office at Cornell when Stanford was creating the Public Service Center; however, he used the FSO model as an indicator of how *not* to structure and operate Stanford's Center, paying particular attention to avoid competing with faculty. At the same time, elements of the FSO philosophy and curriculum were present in the Public Service Center at Stanford. A program administrator described how she relied on models from the Cornell Field Study Office to develop the SCIRE model at Stanford.

Several informants reported also researching program models at "peer institutions," which were defined as the Ivy League institutions plus a handful of other elite institutions such as Stanford, University of Chicago and MIT. The Undergraduate Research

Table 5.1
DIFFUSION OF EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING INITIATIVES AT
STANFORD AND CORNELL

TYPE OF INITIATIVE	STANFORD UNIVERSITY	LANGUAGE USED	CORNELL UNIVERSITY	LANGUAGE USED
<i>Student-initiated Social Change</i>	SWOPSI (1969) ¹	Action Project	Human Affairs Program (HAP) (1969)	Field Study / Advocacy
<i>Student-initiated Educational Innovation</i>	SCIRE (1969)	Community Internship / Fieldwork		
<i>Action Research</i>	Action Research Liaison Office (ARLO) (1974)	Action Research	Participatory Action Research Network (PARN) (1991) / Bartels Undergraduate Action Research Program (2002)	Action Research
<i>Community Service</i>	Student Volunteer Network (SVN)	Public Service	Cornell-Ithaca Volunteers in Training & Svc (CIVITAS) (1978)	Public Service
<i>Public Service Center</i>	Haas Center for Public Service (1984)	Public Service/ Study-Service Connections/ Service Learning / Public Service Education	Public Service Center (PSC) (1990)/ Faculty Fellows in Service (FFIS) (1991)	Public Service / Service-Learning
<i>Washington Internships</i>	Stanford in Washington (1985)	Internships	Cornell in Washington (1980)	Externships
<i>Undergraduate Research</i>	URO (1974) / URP (1984) / PS Scholars Program (1992) / President's Scholars Prgm (1996)	Research	Presidential Research Scholars Program (1996)	Research
<i>Outreach for Govt.-Funded Research</i>	Educational Public Outreach Committee (2001)	Outreach	Educational Public Outreach Committee (2001)	Outreach
<i>Experiential Learning in Interdisciplinary Programs</i>	Human Biology (1969) / Public Policy (1981) / Urban Studies (1985)	Internships / Service-Learning	Human Ecology Field Study Program (1972)	Field Study/ Service-Learning
<i>Civic Engagement / Town-Gown Relationships</i>	Community Day (2002)	Community / Partnership	Civic Engagement Initiative (1999)	Civic Engagement / Outreach Scholarship

¹ Parenthetical date indicates founding year.

Opportunities Program at Stanford was a direct copy of the Undergraduate Research Opportunities Program at MIT. When administrators at Stanford were creating the model for the Public Service Center, they looked at the public service centers at Harvard, Brown and Yale Universities. At the time, these models were well known in the experiential learning field; however, Stanford rejected the models since the President wanted the PSC to be a more central part of the University, with a budget line, rather than non-profit organizations on the periphery of the institution. In this sense, Stanford emulated its peer institutions in concept but did not adopt their specific models, choosing to adapt them to fit Stanford's purposes.

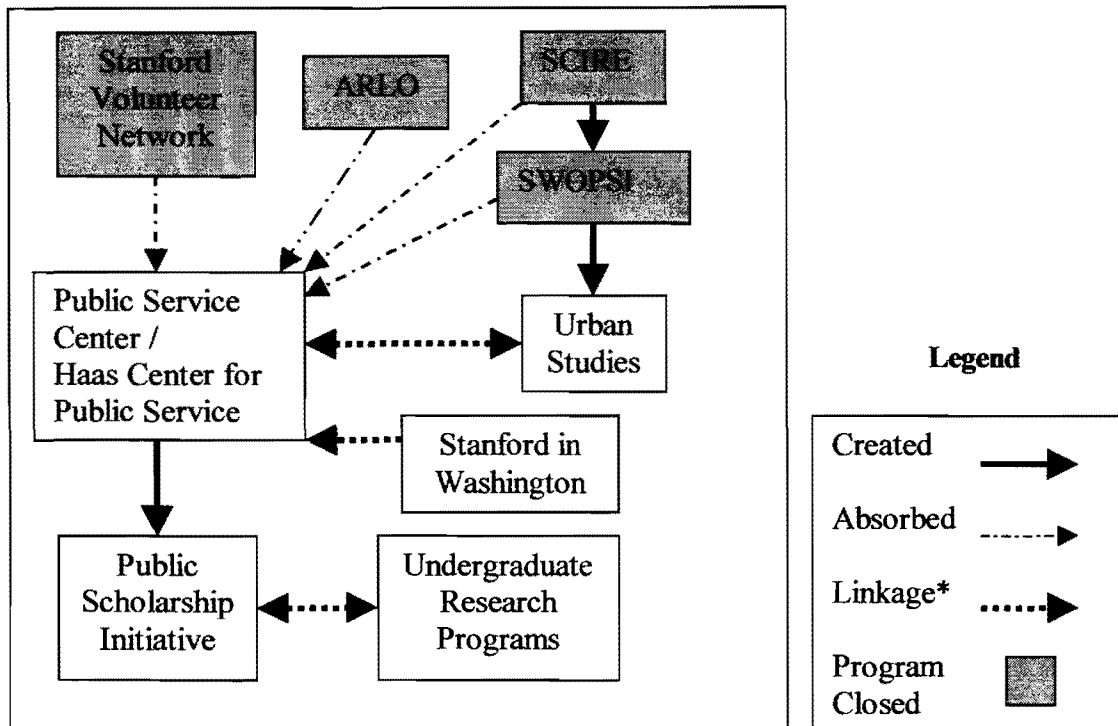
While Stanford and Cornell engaged in mimicry for perceived legitimacy in the context of their peer institutions, this mechanism does not explain fully how and why experiential learning was adopted on their campuses. As highly selective research universities, Cornell and Stanford are widely considered to be elite universities. Elite institutions are freer to experiment and adopt programs that are suspect academically because their elite status affords them "idiosyncrasy credits" (Hollander, 1958) or a surplus of legitimacy that prevents sanctions for idiosyncratic behavior. When interviewing the founders of programs and initiatives, many Stanford faculty and administrators stated that their efforts were "homegrown." This dynamic was more prevalent at Stanford, where faculty reported a much stronger experimental and entrepreneurial culture than at Cornell. With the exception of Stanford-in-Washington, Stanford faculty and administrators adopted their initiatives earlier or at the same time Cornell adopted initiatives. Although informants at Stanford, in particular, claimed to have invented several of these practices or initiatives, the simultaneous adoption of similar initiatives during the same time periods (as depicted in Table 5.1) led me to conclude that a combination of imitation, reinvention, and entrepreneurship took place. According to Rogers (1983), innovations are more likely to be reinvented when they are complex, when knowledge about the innovation is ambiguous or incomplete, when the innovation can serve a wide range of purposes, and when adopters want to claim the innovation as a local one.

Given the relatively small number of experiential educators within each university and within the field more broadly, diffusion processes also took place as faculty and professional staff moved between Cornell and Stanford. In particular, these transfers took

place between the Field Study Office at Cornell and the Public Service Center at Stanford; and between Cornell in Washington and Stanford in Washington. Albeit small, the impact of this “filtering of personnel” (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991), was strong in terms of accounting for similarities of program models. As mentioned earlier, the Field Study faculty at Cornell and several of Stanford’s Haas Center staff members became leaders in the field of experiential learning, publishing widely in the field and serving in significant leadership positions with professional associations. Individuals who were leaders in the field were important to diffusing the professional norms and models from the field.

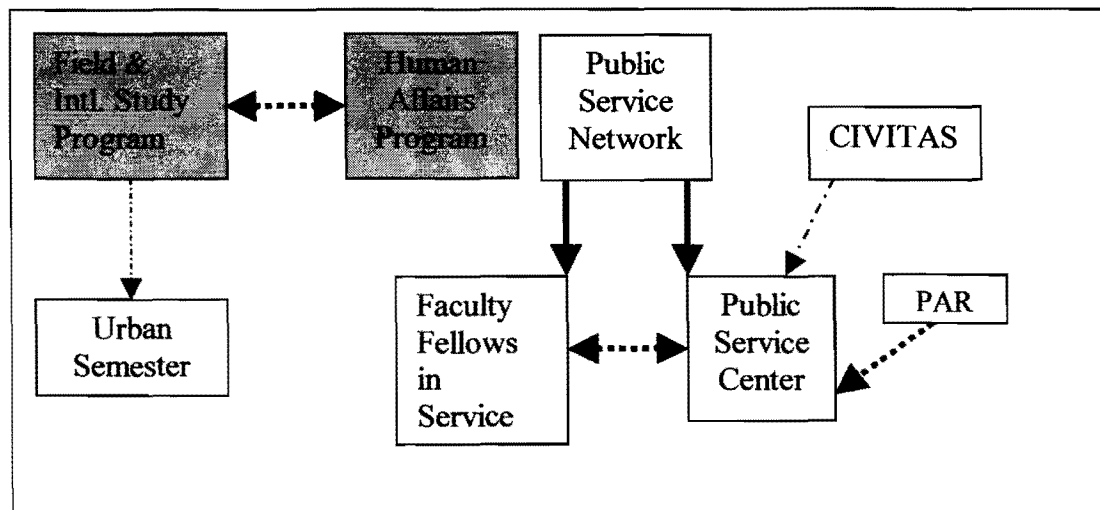
Despite the criticisms that experiential learning was fragmented and uncoordinated on each campus, some programs served as incubators for new initiatives or absorbed the functions of programs once they were eliminated (see Figures 6.1 and 6.2). These relationships help explain diffusion of experiential learning *within* each university. Most notably at Stanford, SWOPSI was created out of an innovation project funded by SCIRE. Subsequently, Urban Studies became the “child” of SWOPSI. While there were fundamental differences among each of those programs, the notion of community problem solving through direct involvement in the community was a common principle across all three. The Interdisciplinary Programs at Stanford formed close connections with the Haas Center for Public Service largely because they wanted guidance on how to create service-learning opportunities for students in their programs and needed infrastructure support to bring service-learning into their curricula. Each of the three Stanford IDPs in this study adopted service-learning pedagogy to varying degrees, based on models used in the Haas Center. Urban Studies developed a particularly strong connection with the Haas Center; and the Haas Center co-sponsored some of Urban Studies’ activities. The Haas Center recently introduced public scholarship on the margins of the Undergraduate Research Programs Office. These relationships at Stanford were the result of the Haas Center wanting to create a “network of public service educators.” Both the Stanford Haas Center and the Faculty Fellows in Service Program at Cornell have been important to diffusing service-learning *within* their respective universities.

Figure 5.1
Stanford University:
Origins, Antecedents, and Linkages

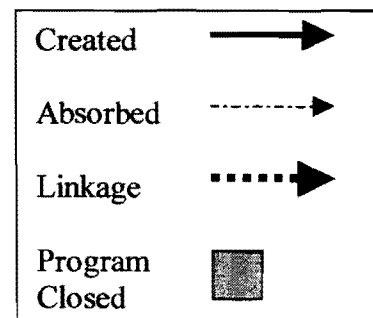


*Informal or Formal Linkage

Figure 5.2
Cornell University:
Origins, Antecedents, and Linkages



Legend



The existence of prior programs, in some cases, provided windows of opportunity for other, similar programs to become adopted, particularly if those new programs were adapted to align with the administration's perceptions of legitimacy more closely. This dynamic was evident when Urban Studies evolved from SWOPSI courses, taking a more legitimate form by bringing the locus of control over instruction back into the academy. This dynamic was also evident when the Urban Semester Program at Cornell was created in the aftermath of the Field Study Office's elimination, as the Urban Semester was reinvented to address several of the criticisms that had plagued the FSO.

Similarly at Cornell, the Public Service Network created both the Faculty Fellows in Service Program and the Public Service Center and convinced the PSC to adopt a service-learning philosophy. Informants described how reactions to the Field Study Office's dismantling were not particularly strong because some people felt that the PSC would take over some of those activities, although proponents of Field Study did not see the early iterations of the PSC as compatible with the activities of the FSO.

Despite a pattern of diffusion within each university, several informants talked about distancing their programs from other more controversial ones on campus, to reduce becoming associated with the controversies surrounding them. While institutional isomorphism helps account for the diffusion of these practices to Stanford and Cornell, the specific pressures and mechanisms that shaped their adoption and legitimacy is explored in the legitimacy framework section of this chapter to provide a more nuanced understanding of how they came to be situated and operationalized locally.

Changing Purposes

Multiple and Contested Goals

While I detected macro patterns of shifting purposes of experiential learning over time on each campus, these patterns were complicated by the fact that the major shifts did not reflect multiple, conflicting, or contested purposes on the micro level, many of which were not known publicly. For example, the Presidential Research Scholars Program at Cornell had dual purposes of recruiting students away from competing universities and increasing student-faculty interactions. As another example, some programs such as the Cornell Field Study Office, held both academic learning and social change as dual purposes. Academic learning was the publicly stated purpose leveraged in order to obtain

or maintain legitimacy within the institution, although individual faculty and staff might have promoted social change agendas in less public ways. These dual goals were present in the Cornell Field Study Office, as evidenced by an analysis of faculty members' descriptions of the ID 408 New York field study course and syllabi from the course. While faculty referenced an "action research project" requirement geared toward social change, the 1986 syllabus referred to the project simply as "research." The syllabus used the terms "research" and "problem-solving," while faculty spoke privately about "action research" and "social change." Faculty used loose coupling of language to seek legitimacy while taking into account their multiple audiences.

The Ebb and Flow of Social Change

On a macro level, experiential learning initiatives with a "social change"² agenda ebbed over time. Engaging students in social change projects was deemed acceptable during the late 1960s and early 1970s within the climate of political and student unrest. When the climate shifted, faculty perceived these activities as too radical and inappropriate activities for the University. Parallel to changes occurring externally, student interest in these initiatives waned by the late 1970s. Partly in response to these shifts in legitimacy, the Human Affairs Program at Cornell was closed.

SWOPSI at Stanford survived past the 1970s and through the 1980s; however, informants described how the Program lost its "radical" edge over time and more students were engaged in clinical fieldwork instead of action projects, which were often controversial. Continuing concerns about academic legitimacy in SWOPSI workshops led the administration to centralize the Program and hire a PhD "scholar-activist" as a director who would help increase academic legitimacy within the Program. Eventually SWOPSI was eliminated in 1991--the last formal social change-oriented program at Stanford. There have been no major social change programs on either campus since 1991, although public scholarship and participatory action research initiatives have the potential to bring social change efforts back into the academy on a formal and more widespread basis.

² Programs and initiatives focused on social change were explicit about engaging students in action beyond just volunteering. Students were engaged *with* the community to address social problems.

The Rise of Public Service and Service-Learning

During the mid-1980s, senior administrators noted that supporting public service formally on campus would be prudent given the pressure nationally to do so from the government and various educational associations. During the late 1980s, the government became part of the national service movement and offered colleges and universities resources to support public service. During the early 1990s, those involved with public service efforts on the campuses shifted their emphasis towards integrating service with academics. While public service itself continued to be “legitimate” in the University, given the civic mission of higher education, service-learning was seen as a key legitimizing force because of its link to one of the University’s core functions--teaching. This emphasis on public service was illustrated by the creation of Public Service Centers at Stanford in 1984 and Cornell in 1991. Likewise the service-learning agenda was mobilized by funding for service learning initiatives at Stanford and the creation of the Faculty Fellows in Service Program at Cornell in the early 1990s. This shift towards integrating service with academics is consistent with what Pollack (1997) calls the “curricularization” of service-learning.

Increased Support for Research

Undergraduate research has evolved as a legitimate form of experiential learning at Stanford since the mid-1980s and at Cornell since the mid-1990s. Stanford’s administration decided to strengthen undergraduate research in 1985 and in the years that followed, continued to provide resources and public support so that more students could engage in research with faculty. Stanford provided a variety of research opportunities to students, including student grants through Undergraduate Research Opportunities, faculty and departmental grants to support students through the Undergraduate Research Programs, the President’s Scholars Program, and the Public Scholarship Initiative. According to an administrator, she and her colleagues would like to see at least 50% of all undergraduates engage in an intensive research experience during their time at Stanford. While Cornell undergraduates worked with faculty to conduct research on an individual and informal basis, the Presidential Research Scholars Program was the only formal structure on campus that provided funding to students for research with faculty; however, informants stated that

increasing funding and opportunities for undergraduate research was part of the administration's strategic agenda for the near future.

The type of research described above was regarded mostly as traditional research. While more on the margins than Stanford's Undergraduate Research Programs and the Presidential Research Scholars Programs, initiatives such as the Bartels Undergraduate Action Research Program at Cornell, the Public Service Scholars Program at Stanford and the Public Scholarship Initiative at Stanford were "packaged" as research to gain legitimacy within the institution while trying to demonstrate that community-based research was a legitimate approach to research as well. In general, however, faculty and administrators perceived service-related research as less legitimate than traditional research, hence the strategic use of language.

Prospects for Institutionalizing Experiential Learning

In many ways, Cornell had a richer and more diverse history of experiential learning than Stanford given the applied, community-oriented nature of its statutory colleges. At the same time, different forms of experiential learning were and continue to be resisted more strongly at Cornell. Many of the proponents of experiential learning there felt a strong sense of embattlement around trying to institutionalize experiential learning. Why would an institution with a public mission, such as Cornell, resist public service initiatives more strongly than a private institution such as Stanford? The cultural divide between Cornell's "public" and "private" colleges provided some insights, since scholars who sought to maintain the institution's elite status shunned the applied orientation of the land grant mission. Cornell also did not have strong and consistent administrative leadership for initiatives such as public service and service-learning as Stanford did. Public service was one of the symbolic yet substantive hallmarks of President Kennedy's tenure at Stanford and informants agreed that the current senior administration was supportive of their efforts to institutionalize experiential learning. Administrative support ebbed more often at Cornell, and informants were unsure about the current administration's level of support for various forms of experiential learning.³

³ Postscript: Jeffrey Lehman assumed the Cornell presidency in 2003, after the retirement of President Hunter Rawlings. A faculty member reported that faculty involved with civic engagement on campus were optimistic about President Lehman's support of engagement efforts, given his commitment to public service at the institution where he served prior to coming to Cornell.

The 2001 review of the land grant mission and pressure from the community refocused the administration's attention on civic engagement at Cornell. However, the momentum for these efforts was lost to some extent as the University chose to prioritize genomics research, athletic facilities and student housing and exclude public service from its Capital Campaign. Stanford's Haas Center, on the other hand, was included in the Campaign for Undergraduate Education in 2000, and it was one of the few non-academic entities to be included to receive increased funding for the purposes of supporting undergraduate education.

The mission and culture of each institution determined the extent to which experiential learning became institutionalized. Cornell's land grant culture, while most accepting of experiential learning, was at odds with the endowed side of the University, which many perceived to be the "Ivy League side." While these cultural differences focused more attention on outreach efforts because of calls for public accountability, many efforts to make outreach university-wide were resisted because of disagreements about whose responsibility the land grant mission was. Because of its land grant status and the size of its community, town/gown issues were more pronounced at Cornell compared with Stanford, so the University received more criticism externally. The faculty culture around innovation and alternative pedagogies also differed. The Stanford faculty was described consistently as more "entrepreneurial" and "practical" than Cornell's, which allowed for more experimentation and broader participation among faculty at Stanford.

In terms of the Public Service Centers, Stanford was careful to recruit the opinion leaders on the faculty who were well-respected and not just "the usual suspects" who would support experiential learning. This outreach strategy was not evident at Cornell, with the exception of Cornell in Washington. Similarly, Stanford's Haas Center staff realized that it could not compete with faculty in terms of students, credit hours, and resources, which were perceived to be problems with SWOPSI and SCIRE at Stanford and the Field Study Office at Cornell. Efforts to recruit the elite faculty on campus were beneficial to institutionalizing both Stanford in Washington and Cornell in Washington and allowed the Programs to rely on adjunct faculty more after the Programs were established and well-regarded. Their reputations as the "crown jewels" of their institutions afforded

them some idiosyncrasy credits through which to bring in outside faculty, without much scrutiny.

Resources played a key part in institutionalizing experiential learning on each campus. The ostensible reason for most of the program closures reported in this study was fiscal constraint. When budgets were slashed, programs and initiatives on the periphery were the first to be cut. The initial Haas Family endowment for public service initiatives gave the Haas Center a permanent physical space and relatively secure future at Stanford. Cornell's Public Service Center, on the other hand, had a stagnant budget for approximately the past ten years. The Haas Center was included in the 2000 Campaign for Undergraduate Education and could potentially receive funds in the future for public outreach from government-funded science research projects. Although alumni giving for public service and service-learning efforts increased at both universities, Stanford advocates for experiential learning appeared to have had a more collaborative and proactive relationship with the Development Office. Research-based experiential learning received an infusion of resources within the past two years and signs for more resources were promising. Likewise, Cornell informants reported that increased resources for undergraduate research were likely.

In many ways, Cornell was reactive in initiating experiential learning and civic engagement initiatives on campus, whereas Stanford was often more proactive and on the forefront of the service-learning field, in particular. Their respective relationships with Campus Compact served as a visible example of the proactive versus reactive approaches. Stanford's president was one of the co-founders of the national Campus Compact as well as the California Campus Compact. A program administrator at the Haas Center was highly influential in shifting the mission of Campus Compact from public service to include service-learning. Some faculty and administrators at Cornell, on the other hand, felt that Cornell was "dragged into" participating with Campus Compact and did so only because of the pressure nationally to do so. Cornell was also reticent about committing to sponsor the New York Campus Compact, according to some faculty and administrators.

The questions that remained regarding institutionalization included how far experiential learning will spread, particularly in the research university context. Haas Center staff members at Stanford recognized that there is a limited pool of faculty who can

and want to engage in service-learning; therefore, they engaged in efforts to define service and education more broadly, using the “Public Service Education” label. Given the climate and pressures at Cornell to increase public accountability, there is potential to institutionalize some types of experiential learning on campus; however, administrative leadership and an infusion of resources will be required in order for it to grow. Another key question that remains is who will champion these efforts once the key individuals advocating for the practices leave the institution. Many of the initiatives in this study were adopted because of the efforts of a small group of faculty, administrators and students. The fluid participation of leaders clearly influenced the ebb and flow of experiential learning on both campuses and remains a factor in the extent to which experiential learning will be sustainable in the long run.

This cross-case analysis provides answers to questions about how experiential learning diffused to and within research universities and how the purpose, form, and legitimacy of experiential learning have changed over time. The conceptual framework provides additional insights about how experiential learning was operationalized within each university and the different mechanisms that legitimized or de-legitimized it. The extent to which experiential learning in these research universities was adopted, adapted, co-opted or rejected was influenced by the legitimacy of the particular forms it took. Rather than being purely homogeneous, notions of legitimacy sometimes conflicted and had to be negotiated within specific contexts. In this study the contexts that provided sometimes conflicting notions of legitimacy were: the academy, the experiential learning field, and the external environment. These contexts also overlapped to some extent and influenced one another. Each of these spheres of legitimacy is described in the following sections.

LEGITIMACY AS DEFINED BY THE ACADEMY

The research universities themselves provided perhaps the strongest influence on if and how experiential learning spread to and within the universities and what forms it took (see Figure 5.3). Research universities are highly institutionalized environments with taken-for-granted assumptions about what are legitimate activities in this context. The nature of many of the debates around experiential learning focused on jurisdiction, use of language to symbolize what was legitimate, and allocation of resources. The following section provides an analysis of the various dimensions that influence notions of legitimacy in research universities.

Jurisdiction

Questions of jurisdiction were salient in this study of the legitimacy of experiential learning. Central to the debates around experiential learning were concerns about who should engage in experiential learning, oversee it, and accredit it. According to Abbott (1988):

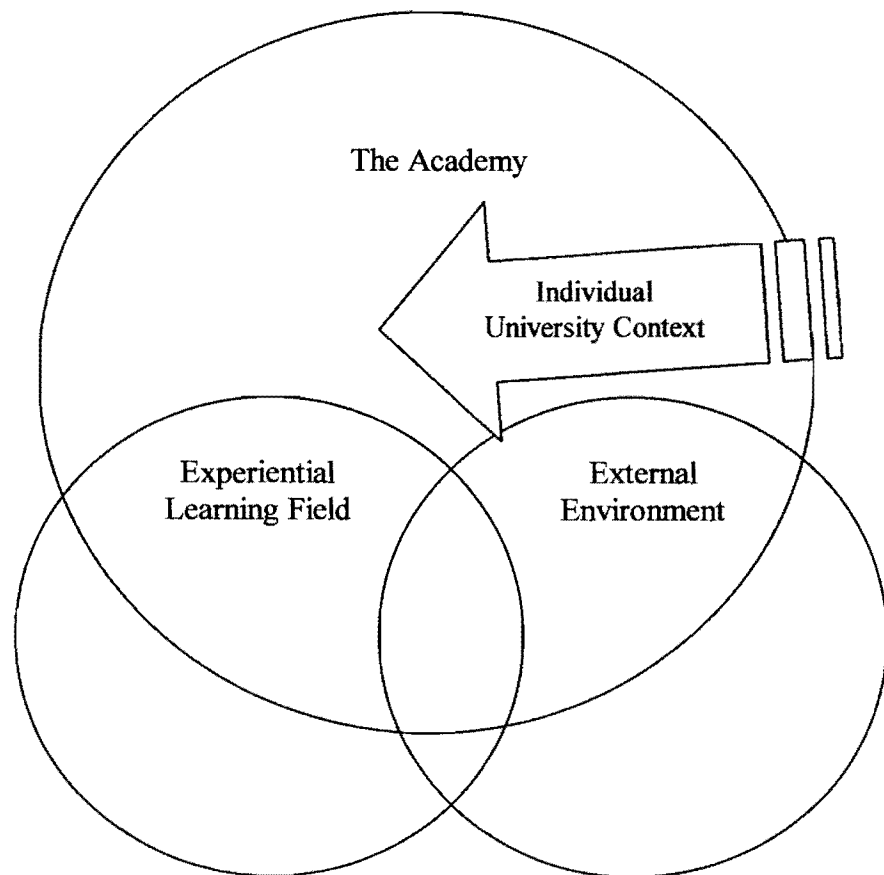
A jurisdictional claim made before the public is generally a claim for the control of a particular kind of work. This control means first and foremost a right to perform the work as professionals see fit. Along with the right to perform the work as it wishes, a profession normally also claims rights to exclude other workers as deemed necessary, to dominate public definitions of the tasks concerned, and indeed to impose professional definitions of the tasks on competing professions (p. 60).

Debates about who should be included and excluded from experiential learning were particularly evident during the earlier part of the history explored in this study. This dynamic was very strong at Cornell since faculty on the endowed side of the University often thought that experiential learning was the responsibility of faculty and staff in the statutory colleges. Jurisdictional issues at Cornell and Stanford were relevant in the following ways: the legitimacy of credentials of those overseeing experiential learning; influence and power; quality and creditworthiness of experiential learning; experiential learning's location within the organizational structure; and the salience of research in this context.

Credentials and Appointments

Jurisdiction over knowledge work is highly institutionalized in research universities, particularly given the focus on scholarship, which is defined typically as basic

Figure 5.3
SPHERES OF LEGITIMACY



research. Jurisdiction over knowledge work is usually certified through traditional academic credentials, which in research universities means a Ph.D. in a discipline. SWOPSI and SCIRE at Stanford and the Field Study Office at Cornell, all three of which were eliminated, had program administrators and instructors who, for the most part, did not have traditional academic credentials.

SWOPSI and SCIRE were both student-initiated, student-run programs that eschewed the traditional notions of expertise and sought explicitly to advance the notion that knowledge resided outside of the traditional faculty role by allowing students, community members, and Stanford graduate students and staff to teach SWOPSI and SCIRE courses and workshops. Ultimately one of the primary problems with SWOPSI and SCIRE was that the locus of control over academics was external to the academy since most courses were taught by non-faculty members. The administration allowed these non-traditional instructors to teach as long as an Academic Council member oversaw and signed off on the course. As reported by informants, oversight of SWOPSI and SCIRE courses by traditional faculty was sometimes loosely coupled. When SWOPSI was merged into Innovative Academic Courses in 1985, the administration decided to hire a “scholar-activist” with a Ph.D. to try to increase the legitimacy of the Program. Informants reported that over time, the student co-directors had less and less authority; and, in general, the nature of the Program changed.

Jurisdictional dynamics played out somewhat differently with the Field Study Office in the College of Human Ecology at Cornell. The program directors and faculty of the FSO were appointed as Senior Lecturers within the College, with teaching as their primary responsibility. Initially, few of the Program faculty had Ph.D.s and those who did obtained them in fields such as Community Development rather than what was considered to be more traditional disciplines. By virtue of their appointments, the faculty members were excluded often from voting on important College matters and were held to conflicting standards on issues such as sabbaticals. According to a faculty member, the FSO faculty saw lecturers as an alternative track to the tenure track, whereas the administration and departmental faculty saw lecturers as “disposable.” The FSO faculty felt that the departmental faculty in the College viewed them as “suspect” because of their appointments, credentials and the interdisciplinary nature of their work. These suspicions

led the departmental faculty to want to retain jurisdiction over field study within the departments since the departmental faculty could evaluate and oversee the work there, whereas they had little control of field study when it was lodged in an interdepartmental unit. The structural dimensions of these dynamics will be elaborated later.

While the founders of Interdisciplinary Programs at Stanford such as Urban Studies, Human Biology and Public Policy were well-respected faculty from the disciplines, the instructors for these programs were often adjunct for two reasons. First, the IDPs, which had field-based components, sometimes had difficulty recruiting regular faculty to teach IDP courses, since these courses were not part of their regular responsibilities and the departments had to “loan” the faculty time to the IDPs. Second, because of the practical and applied orientations of the IDPs, the program directors often sought experts from the field to teach courses (e.g., an urban planner from Palo Alto would teach an Urban Studies course). As reported in the case study, there were ongoing debates about the legitimacy of the IDPs at Stanford; some faculty continued to view interdisciplinary and applied work as inferior to traditional disciplinary work, despite the proliferation of IDPs on campus.

Cornell in Washington and Stanford in Washington were founded by well-respected departmental faculty. Informants from and documentation on both programs described how the main strength of these Programs was the fact that students would be taught by “real” faculty from campus. While both programs were successful in recruiting senior faculty from campus, the realities of trying to recruit tenured or tenure track faculty on a regular basis meant that both programs employed adjunct faculty frequently from Washington D.C. In this sense, there was some loose coupling in terms of publicly stated aspects of the program and the reality of its operations. Because of initial support from elite senior faculty, CIW and SIW were scrutinized less closely in later years.

Individual Influence and Power: The Role of Agency

Presidents and Administrators

While pressures from the external environment (i.e., calls for increased civic participation among students) certainly influenced the spread and legitimation of experiential learning, the efforts of individual or groups of individual entrepreneurs and champions of experiential learning were influential as well. As Cohen and March (1974) note, “The traditions of faculty control are embedded deeply in the culture of academe.

Except in some minor ways, college presidents show little desire to question that tradition” (p. 104). Although faculty controlled most academic decision making in these elite research universities, the role of individual presidents in supporting or championing experiential learning was important in the long run in terms of legitimacy and acquiring resources. For example, both the Haas Center for Public Service and Stanford in Washington were pet projects of Stanford’s President Kennedy. Both the Center and Program were institutionalized at Stanford and had long-term financial commitments from the institution. Informants described both programs as “crown jewels” of Stanford. During President Kennedy’s tenure, academic service-learning made a relatively quiet but successful entrée into the academic enterprise. It is likely that when President Kennedy championed “study-service connections” that his reputation as a world class academician stemmed some of the criticisms faculty might have had about service-learning not being “academic” enough. His support was critical for embedding service into the academy, since his successor reportedly exhibited “benevolent disinterest” in public service and service-learning. The provost from the successor’s administration was important to sustaining support for the Haas Center and was a strong supporter of practical education, particularly through public service.

Cornell’s presidents tended to support the general notion of public service, given the institution’s land grant mission; however, they were less enthusiastic about moving public service into the academic arena with service-learning. Subsequently, Cornell’s service-learning efforts have remained a relatively low priority in terms of growth and resources.

As Cohen and March (1974) note, fluid participation of organizational members in universities influences the problems and choices that are attended to and the extent to which choices are sustained. This aspect of decision making was illustrated most clearly by the varied support that Cornell’s Field Study Office received under the leadership of different deans. One dean provided FSO with resources that departments felt should have remained in departments, while another dean chose to eliminate the core of FSO during budget cuts. The latter dean attended to the financial crisis within the College while the former dean attended to the College’s mission to engage students and faculty in social problem-solving.

Students

At different points in history, students played significant roles in initiating experiential learning programs at Cornell and Stanford; however, their power within the universities was limited. Without exception all of the student-initiated programs in this study were eliminated over time, specifically SWOPSI, SCIRE and ARLO at Stanford and the Human Affairs Program at Cornell. In some respects it is remarkable that a student-initiated, student-run program like SWOPSI was sustained for 20 years. However, as noted in the Stanford case study, student voice and power were diminished increasingly over the course of those 20 years. In part, this shift in power reflected changes in the larger political and social context as students demanded greater inclusion in educational decision making during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Allowing student-initiated programs such as SWOPSI and the Human Affairs Program to exist under the supervision of faculty was a safe way for the universities to address and “contain” students’ demands. Over time, control of these programs was transferred to administrators or faculty. As university bureaucracies continued to bloat, during the 1980s and 1990s, students’ needs could be addressed more readily by the administration. If students wanted avenues through which to promote social change and make their education more relevant, there were structures within the university (i.e., Innovative Academic Courses or the Haas Center for Public Service at Stanford) that allowed them to meet those needs without causing much trouble or controversy. Although there were pockets of student demand and support for experiential learning (i.e., students protesting the impending closure of Cornell’s Field Study Office or students at Stanford demanding service-learning courses), by and large students were less vocal about their educational needs after the late 1970s. This shift occurred partly because of changes in the social and political climate, but also because structures existed within the administration to meet most educational needs.

Faculty

As the heart of the academic enterprise, faculty were certainly important for garnering support and momentum for service-learning at Cornell and Stanford. As noted in Chapter 2, faculty have a high level of individual authority over their work, given the nature of the professional bureaucracy; however, this independence and

allegiance to disciplines means that gathering collective support for initiatives in the university can be challenging. This dynamic was characterized best by a faculty member at Cornell, paraphrasing Warren Bennis: "Universities really aren't institutions--they are 15,000 entrepreneurs connected by a common parking problem."

Certain groups of faculty were influential in starting initiatives such as the Interdisciplinary Programs at Stanford and the Participatory Action Research Network and Public Service Network / Public Service Center at Cornell. While these particular programs were sustained over time, their potential to grow and garner more resources reportedly was limited. Informants noted that recruiting well-regarded faculty to participate during the early stages of an initiative was critical to providing legitimacy for implementing and sustaining the programs (i.e., the Cornell and Stanford in Washington Programs). Faculty involvement was less relevant for the student volunteer movements, as informants reported that many faculty saw public service as something one did as a private citizen, not as a member of an academic institution.

Is Experiential Learning Academic?

Concerns about the academic legitimacy of experiential learning usually played out during debates about whether or not experiential learning was credit-worthy. From a jurisdictional perspective, did it fall under the domain of academic work? Faculty and administrators at both universities were careful to assert that they did not grant credit for experience alone; however, policy and practice were sometimes loosely coupled. Cornell in Washington was reconsidering this policy during the time of this study. According to a faculty member, granting credit for experience would more accurately represent how credit was really granted:

In a way, we give them that credit and in some respects it may be illegitimate. That is to say, we're giving eight credits, which means to say, we're in a way giving four credits for the externship without any evaluation going on of the externship experience itself....

Both the Cornell Field Study Office and SWOPSI and SCIRE at Stanford created explicit guidelines and criteria for granting credit that were reviewed widely by faculty. Despite these criteria, faculty were still critical of the academic rigor of SWOPSI, which was one of the factors that led to its demise in 1991. As one program administrator said, "It's a land mine situation just the whole issue of a group of faculty and students deciding

on credit--and it's a second class credit, first of all because it's not [perceived as] of the same quality as departmental work...."

Part of the perceptions about "second-class credit" were faculty members' assumptions that students were getting credit for experience, even if they were not. However, other faculty members felt that some of the concerns about quality and rigor were valid, especially when considering the amount of work a student sometimes did to gain credit compared with traditional courses. A student who enrolled in a number of SWOPSI courses during the 1970s said that "the requirements were pretty loose" and he didn't recall having any textbooks or readings in the course, which are common symbols of legitimacy in an academic course. As documented in the Field Study Office newsletters, some students in the Field Study Office reported working harder in their field study courses compared with their regular courses. These examples illustrate that perceptions about the academic quality of courses varied widely; however, as several informants mentioned, the range of quality was probably similar to the range of quality among traditional courses. According to them, the difference was that experiential learning was scrutinized more closely.

The Field Study Office was suspect because it was the first non-departmental entity in the College of Human Ecology to grant academic credit. The nature of the skepticism ranged from who did the accrediting to what was being accredited. Faculty, in general, were unsure about how to translate field experience into credit legitimately. While this wasn't evident at Stanford, Cornell faculty described how departments and other colleges often established barriers that would prevent their students from obtaining academic credit for field study through the Field Study Office.

A program administrator at Stanford described how staff members initially steered students away from trying to gain credit for their public service experiences since the concept of service-learning was still relatively unknown during the late 1980s, and the controversies about SWOPSI were still fresh in faculty members' minds. While the general strategy in many of these programs was to link service or experience closely to the disciplinary academic work, the Haas Center staff at Stanford questioned this narrow definition of "legitimate" academic work. They maintained that learning could be rigorous without confining it to the classroom context and that rigor was dependent on the design of

the learning experience. While Haas Center staff stated that most faculty and students were unaware of the distinctions between service-learning and public service education, it represented a shift in vision and it remains to be seen how legitimate public service education will be on campus in the long-run.

Organizational Structure

Where experiential learning resided in the universities often indicated how its purposes and functions were perceived. These dynamics played out most strongly along dimensions of creating departmental versus inter or extra departmental programs; centralizing functions versus decentralizing them; and administering programs through student affairs versus academic affairs. Different structural arrangements forced decision makers to decide between the tradeoffs of being centralized and losing autonomy and the potential to be innovative, or staying autonomous on the periphery and lacking legitimacy.

Departmental vs. Inter or Extra Departmental

The Field Study Office at Cornell probably exemplified best the tensions associated with being an interdepartmental program. Departments' issues were two-fold: they wanted to retain control of field study and they found the FSO courses "too process-oriented" and not worthy of academic credit or College resources. Most faculty referred to the concerns as academic status issues. Departments were worried about competing with the FSO academically and financially. According to a faculty member "...for the FSO the mixed message was you have to be very good at meeting students' needs around field experience or you're not going to stay in business, but you can't be better than the departments." Although at times they entertained proposals to become part of a department, the FSO faculty perceived that it was beneficial to remain interdepartmental because it gave them more autonomy and flexibility. They resisted becoming co-opted by the departments, but did so at certain costs.

The push to have experiential learning become part of the departmental structures was prominent in the ongoing debates about Extradepartmental Programs such as SWOPSI and SCIRE at Stanford. SWOPSI and SCIRE staff saw the programs as an *alternative* to the departments. These programs provided courses that were not available through the regular departmental structure. Although they hoped that the departments would adopt and

regularize some of the course offerings, they resisted strongly being co-opted into the university structure.

Competition with departments was an issue with the Undergraduate Research Programs at Stanford as well. According to an administrator, while faculty were pleased to receive funding from the Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education to support undergraduates in their research, they believed that the control of those resources should reside within the departments. According to an administrator, the departments saw the VPUE's Office as a "superfluous kind of structure" that served as a barrier to direct access to funding to support research, which was under the departments' jurisdiction.

Decentralization vs. Centralization

Informants at Stanford and Cornell described their institutions as highly decentralized; however, this structural aspect was noted at Cornell more often because of the structural divisions between the endowed and statutory sides of the University. A faculty member said: "I think the typical metaphor that people used about colleges at Cornell was that it was a series of colleges, each with a moat around it, and a drawbridge controlled from inside."

The decentralized nature of both institutions meant that experiential learning was often uncoordinated; and those involved in it across campus were often unaware of one another's efforts, often duplicating "services" provided to the community. The Palo Alto/East Palo Alto and Ithaca communities have each been critical of the universities' levels of participation in the community, citing a lack of community input in solving community problems, redundancy of services, and erratic participation from students.

These characterizations helped serve as an impetus for both universities to create Public Service Centers. One of the goals of Stanford's and Cornell's PSCs was to centralize and publicize public service activities on campus and in the community. At Cornell, some of the volunteer clearinghouse organizations that pre-dated the PSC felt threatened by centralization efforts and fought to maintain autonomy. While resistance was less strong at Stanford, the ethnic centers were wary about having their public service functions absorbed by the Public Service Center.

Resistance to centralization was most prominent with Stanford's Extradepartmental Programs, SWOPSI and SCIRE. For several years, the Office of the Dean of

Undergraduate Studies tried to centralize the administrative and credit granting structures of the EDPs. SWOPSI and SCIRE supporters felt that centralization would decrease the programs' autonomy and innovation. They saw the Dean's efforts as co-optation attempts and were at odds on a number of dimensions. The Dean's Office wanted to centralize and professionalize staff in order to improve efficiency, promote conformity, and mainstream courses into the departments. SWOPSI and SCIRE sought to remain on the periphery in order to maintain student-centeredness, "intelligent inefficiency," flexibility, innovation, and an alternative to the departments. After two attempts to centralize the EDPs' functions, the Dean acquiesced and acknowledged the unique nature of the EDPs. However, in 1984 during the Arrow Committee's review of EDPs, SCIRE was eliminated and SWOPSI was centralized into a new structure that diminished student involvement, professionalized staff and mainstreamed more courses into departments.

Academic Affairs vs. Student Affairs

In the field of service-learning, which is one of the dominant forms of experiential learning in higher education today, the current norm is to institutionalize service-learning in higher education by bringing it closer structurally to the academic core through the disciplines (Zlotkowski, 1996; 2001), through academic departments (Battistoni, Gelmon, Saltmarsh, Wergin, and Zlotkowski, 2003), and by engaging Chief Academic Officers (Schmiede and Langseth, 2003; Plater and Langseth, forthcoming). In the field, this shift was most evident as faculty and administrators tried to move service-learning from Student Affairs to Academic Affairs.

Informants at Cornell talked about the need to move the Public Service Center to the academic side of the University's structure. They voiced concerns that the PSC would remain stagnant unless it could move from the Vice President for Student Affairs, where it resided, to the academic side of the institution. This desire was reflected also in their attempts to hire a faculty director for the PSC, which ultimately failed. Historically, the director had always been non-faculty. Referring to the PSC, one faculty member said, "...our major institution for advancing this work is an under-funded minor office in Student Affairs, not in Academic Affairs, in which there's not one faculty member with any kind of appointment connected to it." Several informants questioned whether the current Provost would support the PSC under her office.

In the long-run, Stanford's strategy for reaching the academic core was different than Cornell's. Originally the Public Service Center at Stanford was under the President's Office and Provost's Office and then moved to the Vice Provost for Student Affairs. While acknowledging the rationale behind potentially moving the Haas Center to Academic Affairs, a few informants felt that Stanford was less vulnerable to budget cuts in Student Affairs. According to a program administrator "...while conceptually it makes much more sense to be in the Vice Provost's Office, I think, if we had been in the Vice Provost's Office [for Undergraduate Education] we would have had a much harder budget." Informants also cited leadership as important to determining whether or not it would be beneficial to be administrated by Academic Affairs.

Contrary to popular thinking in the experiential learning field, it is unclear whether Academic Affairs is always the best location for institutionalizing experiential learning, since factors such as leadership and politics mitigate structural effects. While the argument to locate experiential learning within the academic structure makes sense intellectually, the possible political ramifications make such a move problematic. Decisions about structure can result in a choice between being a marginal program in a core part of the university or being a more prominent program in a marginal part of the university. The tradeoff of holding true to the ideology of academic-based experiential learning is that it exists in a location where decision makers and stakeholders are more powerful and often are less supportive. While it would bring experiential learning closer to the academic core, locating it in academic affairs could be difficult politically.

The Salience of Research

Undergraduate research became more salient during the past decade as universities sought to engage undergraduates in scholarship and increase student-faculty interactions. According to a Stanford administrator, undergraduate research was "one of the privileged areas of campus for funding right now." This focus seemed logical given the heavy emphasis on knowledge production in research universities.

Undergraduate research at Cornell and Stanford was regarded highly and perceived to be an important activity within the universities. Consistent with the principles of jurisdiction, research was considered an "elite" activity within research universities and was prioritized accordingly. When they were started, the Presidential Research Scholars

Programs at Cornell and President's Scholars Program at Stanford were highly selective programs that recruited the "crème de la crème" from the prospective student pool. Their highly selective nature, focus on research, and association with the university president provided these programs with legitimacy. Interestingly at Stanford, a similar highly-selective research scholars program came under much criticism because of its "elite" nature. According to a program administrator, the Program was discontinued "because it was considered to be too elitist for Stanford." He described how despite Stanford's highly selective nature, once students arrived on campus there was a perception that all students were considered equal. With increased opportunities available to students for undergraduate research funding through the various activities in Undergraduate Research Programs, students at Stanford were beginning to feel "entitled" to funding to support research projects, according to this program administrator. In this sense, undergraduate research was becoming more mainstream. This student culture contrasted with the one at Cornell, which faculty described as very competitive; however, a program administrator there described how the University was seeking ways to make research funding for undergraduates available more widely beyond the Presidential Research Scholars Program.

The research components of the Cornell and Stanford in Washington Programs were an important part of making the Programs "legitimate" for faculty. At Cornell, the founders were explicit about including a methodology course in the curriculum when they developed it. The research was often lauded as a stepping stone for honors theses in many cases. An administrator characterized the importance of research to CIW when he stated "...this was going to be the *research university's* answer to experimental [sic] learning--it was not like [the] Human Ecology [Field Study Office].... It was distinct."

While the spread and legitimacy of undergraduate research have certainly increased, different *types* of research have been legitimized to varying degrees. Informants agreed that students engaged in basic or "traditional" research raised few questions. However, some faculty perceived public service or action-oriented research at both universities as potentially problematic. At Stanford, faculty raised concerns about the Public Scholarship Initiative that was sponsored jointly by the VPUE and the Haas Center for Public Service. A program administrator described one of the concerns when he said "we also worry that when people are doing public service that they have a point of view already." Some faculty

perceived public service-oriented research to be biased. Others had general concerns about the rigor of this type of research compared with more “traditional” research.

A program administrator from the Haas Center for Public Service was careful to distinguish between research with a public service orientation and action research. As will be described later in more depth, she noted how the Center was strategic in its use of language; the term “public scholarship” was more palatable than “action research” in developing the Public Scholarship Initiative. While the Public Service Scholars Program at Stanford certainly engaged students in public service-oriented research, this program administrator was careful to say that the Public Service Scholars were *not* engaged in action research.

Action research seemed to have a more developed history at Cornell, mostly because the founders of the Participatory Action Research movement were at Cornell. PAR was distinguished from traditional forms of research because it combined the values of democratizing knowledge production and advancing social justice. PAR challenged the foundation of a faculty member’s jurisdiction over knowledge production since the “ownership” of knowledge was shared with community members. The most striking element of PAR’s perceived legitimacy at Cornell had to do with other faculty misunderstanding PAR as a *methodology* instead of an approach to research, and therefore, perceiving it as “less rigorous” than traditional research. PAR utilized the same methodologies as traditional social science research; what distinguished it was that it was “purposely built to undermine the way [traditional researchers] operate when talking about human beings as informants and co-opting intellectual property from other people and using it for an academic purpose,” according to a faculty member.

One of the controversial aspects of the Field Study Office at Cornell was the explicit introduction of action research into the curriculum. While informants did not raise questions about the academic rigor of the action research projects that took place in the New York field study course, they described how others raised questions about whether or not activism was a legitimate activity in which faculty or students should engage. This jurisdictional issue seemed most salient when the projects were a direct critique of the University or jeopardized alumni and development relationships. Students also resisted the required action research component of the course initially, partly because of their primary

interests in the private sector and their initial lack of understanding about the goals of the projects. Eventually, students became strong supporters of the action research projects, despite the amount of work it required.

Faculty Roles, Rewards and Incentives

Faculty were mixed at both universities about what impact, if any, sponsoring or teaching experiential learning had on a junior faculty member's chances for receiving tenure. Some faculty felt that it would not affect tenure prospects negatively as long as the faculty member met all of the expectations for tenure. However, several faculty felt that the labor-intensive nature of experiential learning distracted faculty from participating in "tenurable" activities, and called involvement "suicidal" and "self-destructive." The senior administration at Stanford encouraged the Haas Center staff to recruit only senior faculty, partly as a legitimacy strategy and partly to protect junior faculty. An administrator noted a pattern of junior faculty who were most involved and engaged with students as not getting tenure at Stanford. A few pointed to the reward system as a barrier to greater faculty participation. As one Stanford staff member said, "Until this kind of work can be recognized as something that really should contribute positively in that context for junior faculty in particular, I think people are taking huge risks by getting involved." A faculty member at Cornell concurred. However, very few informants at either university talked about reforming the promotion and tenure system so that these activities would count positively towards advancement in the University. While several universities across the country were reconsidering how scholarship was defined and the criteria by which faculty scholarship was evaluated (see Ernest Boyer's work in *Scholarship Reconsidered*), efforts to re-evaluate the promotion and tenure systems at Cornell and Stanford were not evident. This movement was not prevalent among the more elite higher education institutions and has implications for the extent to which faculty can make experiential learning part of their activities without detriment to their careers.

Providing financial incentives to faculty seemed important to recruiting faculty to participate in experiential learning at Stanford and Cornell. Both the Faculty Fellows in Service Program at Cornell and the Haas Center for Public Service provided funding to faculty for developing service-learning courses and covering expenses related to service in the community. While expenses for running a service-learning course were considered

modest, these funding sources provided resources that were unavailable elsewhere, particularly within departments.

The Nature of Evaluation

Because many of the programs in this study were not under the immediate jurisdiction of “regular” faculty, they were evaluated more frequently and more closely than other programs or departments. Stanford faculty teaching in the Interdisciplinary Programs reported how their programs were evaluated every five years and were always vulnerable to being canceled. A faculty member pointed out that until 1999, the departments at Stanford were never reviewed regularly. He stated that some departmental faculty were resistant to regular departmental reviews, given the system of professions that exempted tenured faculty from close scrutiny because of the nature of their disciplinary expertise and jurisdiction over knowledge work. Similarly within the Field Study Office at Cornell the Field Study Committee reported, “Most of those within Field Studies feel that Field Studies has been ‘investigated’ and ‘questioned’ too much and that the time has come for their program to be stabilized and legitimized” (Field Study Committee, 1985, p. 1).

Interestingly, positive reviews of programs didn’t always ensure their survival. A Stanford program administrator described how these evaluations were coupled loosely with the program’s sustainability and how SWOPSI was eliminated immediately after a very positive review of the program was submitted by a faculty committee to the administration. Field Study faculty at Cornell experienced similar dynamics.

Some informants, however, had very different experiences with regard to evaluation. Those who worked with programs at Stanford that were relatively institutionalized and well-resourced reported facing minimal scrutiny. In part, because of the elite context of Stanford, programs automatically had some legitimacy surpluses. A program administrator stated that “it’s such an elitist club that once you’re in the club people don’t ask. They don’t care.” Another program administrator added, “I think if Stanford were very concerned about what its status was, I have a feeling there would be a lot more scrutiny on what we did.” The implication of this dynamic was that the Haas Center staff only had to supply minimal reports to the administration about its activities. Informants from the Haas Center also described how faculty were less questioning about service-learning pedagogy than faculty at other institutions were. In general, Stanford was

described as an entrepreneurial university where an individual could innovate as long as he or she could find a way to pay for the initiative.

Resources

Internal Versus External Funding

An ongoing reliance on soft money made many of the programs in this study vulnerable in terms of survival. While external funding sources were willing to support new experiential learning initiatives at both universities, particularly service-learning, the universities themselves showed variable, and what informants perceived often as modest support in terms of funding. In particular, this lack of support from the University was noticeable when external “start-up” funding ran out. Cornell faculty were critical that the administration had kept the Public Service Center’s budget stagnant over the past decade.

Levels of internal funding seemed tied closely with leadership. Indeed the Cornell Field Study Office received its largest infusion of resources under the leadership of a particular dean, only to have the core functions of its program eliminated under the leadership of a new dean. Informants at Cornell saw the current administration as part of the reason that civic engagement was not made an institutional priority and earmarked for increased resources. The Public Service Center at Stanford received financial support internally because the President was its champion. Subsequently, they were able to weather tepid support from the next president because of the support they received from the Provost.

Having a budget line within the University did not necessarily ensure sustainability for experiential learning programs. According to one program administrator, having a budget line and paying instructors made a previously marginal program such as SWOPSI vulnerable to being cut. Being on the margin provided some safety in that there were few resources to cut when programs were put on the chopping block during times of fiscal constraint. In the case of Cornell’s Field Study Office, the Program was relatively well-resourced during the 1980s because of the Dean’s support. The budget lines were imperiled when leadership changes occurred in the administration and administrators chose to eliminate the Programs in the wake of budget constraints.

Organizations such as the Ford Foundation, the Kellogg Foundation, the Hewlett Foundation, and the Corporation for National Service (formerly the Corporation for

National and Community Service) were key external funding sources and provided start-up funding for many of the programs in this study.

Another important source of funding was donations from alumni and other university supporters. Many informants agreed that funding from the Haas family, which allowed the Center to build a permanent building, was key to its institutionalization at Stanford. Funding and endowing public service fellowships was popular among alumni at Stanford. Haas Center staff members were strategic about connecting with the Development Office to work with alumni and donors who were interested in supporting public service. The main advancements cited recently with service-learning and engagement at Cornell were donor-funded initiatives such as the Bartels Undergraduate Action Research Program. Informants at Cornell described their Development Office as more defensive about funding public service initiatives; and alumni were able to designate money for public service only after the Development Office had ruled out a donor's potential interest in all other funding opportunities on campus.

Being included in the current Campaign for Undergraduate Education will provide more secure, permanent funding for both the Haas Center and the Undergraduate Research Programs at Stanford. At the time of this study, only 16% of the Haas Center's budget came from the University's annual allocation, which continued to make them overly-reliant on soft money.

Budget Cuts

Budget constraints were factors that led to the demise of some of the programs in this study, most notably the Cornell Field Study Office and SWOPSI at Stanford. According to several informants, budget cuts provided a "legitimate" way to eliminate these programs that were controversial because of academic legitimacy concerns. Ultimately the perceived marginality of the programs compared with other activities in the University made them more vulnerable during times of fiscal constraint. To paraphrase a Cornell administrator, when budget cuts have to be made are you going to cut your core courses and faculty or an elective program that many faculty do not trust in the first place?

Both universities faced intense budget constraints in the early 1990s. The Cornell statutory colleges, such as the College of Human Ecology, seemed much more vulnerable to fiscal constraint because they received funding from the State University of New York

(SUNY). According to an administrator in the College of Human Ecology, the cuts in the College were relentless as they faced 19 budget cuts between 1988-1998.

The Language Landscape

Language played an important role in how various stakeholders within and outside of the universities made sense of and legitimized experiential learning. As stated at the beginning of this dissertation, the purpose of this study was not to define experiential learning and its various types, but to describe the various constructions that informants used to describe these activities. Many informants at Cornell and Stanford described their strategic use of language to legitimize experiential learning to particular stakeholders. This strategy was consistent with Lounsbury and Pollack's (2001) concept of the "cultural repackaging" of service-learning to fit with the institutional logics of higher education.

Table 5.1 outlines the different language used to describe the types of experiential learning on different parts of each campus. Since most programs at Stanford had a similar counterpart at Cornell, this table allows for comparison of language between institutions as well as within each institution. Designations were created based on language found most frequently in archival documents in addition to language used in interviews to describe programs. Many of the programs common to both universities used the same language to describe their activities. Several differences are of note: the distinctions between "internship" and "externship" with the two Washington programs; the use of "civic engagement" at Cornell; and the creation of the term "public service education" at Stanford. These distinctions will be discussed in subsequent sections.

The Evolution and Blurring of Types of Experiential Learning

As individual programs and initiatives developed and matured, the language used to describe them changed as well. In particular, these language changes happened concurrently with changes in language used in national organizations that supported experiential learning such as Campus Compact and the National Society for Internships and Experiential Education (now NSEE) (Pollack, 1997). These shifts were most notable within Cornell's Public Service Center and the Haas Center for Public Service at Stanford.

Initial discussions about creating the Public Service Center at Cornell began in 1986, with the PSC opening officially in 1990. During the early stages of its development, faculty were cautioned by administrators to avoid using the term "service-learning," which

was beginning to become more commonplace on the national front. In the late 1980s, the Center was conceived more broadly and conservatively as a clearinghouse for public service activities without any direct linkages to academics, despite debates about this choice. The administration saw the PSC as focused externally on coordinating public service in the community and improving community relations. The few faculty pushing to include service-learning in the mission thought that it was also important to focus internally on student learning.

As service-learning came into vogue, the faculty who founded the Faculty Fellows in Service Program at Cornell in 1990, were careful to distinguish the program as one that supported *curricular* service-learning, not public service. FFIS was seen as the PSC's vehicle, albeit it small, for introducing service into the curriculum. As both programs grew and the FFIS Program became housed within the PSC, the PSC grew to adopt the "service-learning" terminology as well. These shifts were documented in the various iterations of the mission statements.

While there was no evidence of the term "service-learning" in formal public documents about the Cornell PSC during the founding years, the term became more commonplace in the early 1990s. The 1992 PSC mission statement stated that the Center would "...affirm the synergy of classroom and experiential education" without referencing service-learning directly. Within five years, service-learning had become much more explicit within the mission:

...the Public Service Center espouses service-learning as its overarching educational philosophy to develop and organize its programs (PSC Operations Report, 1997-99).

Over the past two to three years the language in public documents changed further to include the term "action." According to the PSC Director, "We promote faculty and student engagement in action research and social action" (Cornell PSC, 2001, p. 1). This broadening of language reflected the PSC's collaborations with and support of the Participatory Action Research Network at Cornell.

While service-learning became much more explicit in the mission of the PSC at Cornell, several informants questioned the extent to which it had been operationalized as central to the PSC. As one administrator stated, "I'm not sure the institution will ever be in

a position that will fully embrace service-learning.” Some faculty also saw the PSC as still operating largely using a student volunteer model. While service-learning was certainly a focus of the PSC, it was not as central as one would have assumed by reading the mission statement. This observation was confirmed by several faculty.

Stanford experienced similar but more deliberate shifts in language from “public service” to “study-service connections” to “service-learning” to “public service education.” Initially public service was defined in founding documents as simply “doing good” (PSC, 1984). When Haas Center staff convinced the President that they should pursue linking academics with service, they coined the term “study-service connections” to highlight the academic nature of it without alienating faculty. “Service-learning” was adopted at a later point when students and faculty began to use the terminology and the term had become more widespread nationally.

The Haas Center’s recent broadening of “service-learning” to “public service education,” reflected a more inclusive definition of service and learning that did not define learning rigidly as occurring through formal coursework. This approach was anathema to the dominant strategies in the field at the time. Some of the Haas Center staff members felt that the term “service-learning” itself “assumes that because the goal is to embed it within the academy, it necessarily means it must fit the standards of already existing disciplinary definition of rigor within each discipline.” The staff was, in part, reacting to this narrow definition of rigor and what they perceived to be an elitist view of service-learning. At the same time they acknowledged that pushing a service-learning agenda strategically in the early years was important to gaining faculty involvement and legitimacy. As mentioned in the case study, Stanford was and continued to be on the forefront of the service-learning field in broadening the definition of service-learning through “public service education,” which reflected how the Haas Center had matured in its organizational life cycle compared with the Public Service Center at Cornell. The Haas Center was alone in its philosophy relative to the rest of the service-learning field, which was consistent with Stanford’s history as being on the forefront of new developments with regard to experiential learning and shaping new directions in the field.

Despite these notable shifts in language, most informants discussed how the distinctions among the different forms of experiential learning were often ambiguous

(Stanton, 1990a). While those working closest to experiential learning were careful to make distinctions among internships, public service, service-learning, civic engagement, community-based research, etc., a majority of the informants used these terms interchangeably. For example, some Cornell-in-Washington faculty referred to the field placement as an “externship” while others called it an “internship.” A faculty member clarified that the founders selected the term “externship” because there was less of a career development orientation associated with it. He added that the distinction mattered more internally because supervisors in the organizations and agencies all used the term internship; however, he alluded to the fact that internal distinctions were more important early in the program’s history than now.

Another “blurring” of distinctions was a perceived convergence of “participatory action research” and “service-learning” in terms of philosophy and substance. At Cornell, a faculty member acknowledged that these terms were linked closely and sometimes interchangeable because of conceptual and philosophical similarities. However, he noted that these connections were not particularly clear until recent years. This convergence was illustrated also by the PSC’s efforts to support participatory action research, whereas it was not previously within the purview of the PSC.

Language as a Distancing Mechanism

Many of the new initiatives in this study contended with the often controversial legacies of similar programs, many of which had been eliminated for reasons of legitimacy. According to Suchman (1995), when entrepreneurs introduce new practices, they “may need to disentangle new activities from certain preexisting regimes, in which the activities would seem marginal, ancillary, or illegitimate” (p. 586). The term “experiential” in the PSC mission at Cornell was seen as a “red flag” for Arts and Sciences faculty because of its perceived association with the Field Study Office, which had just been eliminated, and the Human Affairs Program, which had been controversial and was perceived to have been a radical advocacy group. A faculty member stated that the Provost instructed him to disassociate the new PSC from HAP, in terms of how the Center was described. The Provost felt that faculty would resist the proposal for the PSC if they saw it as related functionally or philosophically with HAP; therefore, the initial proposals were very modest and conservative in terms of scope, function and language.

When the Public Service Network at Cornell created a proposal and plans for the Public Service Center, they encountered a “dampening” effect from the administration who wanted to use very conservative language in describing the mission and activities of the Center. A faculty member who served on the PSN recalled how the administration resisted any proposals that included words like “social change,” “social justice,” “alternative,” and “advocacy.” The administration wanted “to bring public service into the mainstream” (PSN Meeting Minutes 11/18/91, p. 2); and according to a faculty member, anything related to advocacy was “verboten.”

This distancing phenomenon was present also at Stanford when their Public Service Center was developing. A program administrator described how initially the Center staff adopted an explicit strategy to distance the Center from SWOPSI, ARLO and SCIRE, all of which had been eliminated:

The idea was that the PSC would pick up ARLO and SCIRE as a function. Well, ultimately, [it happened], but it was such a hot potato that it didn't make any sense to touch it at the time. When we started the PSC, we had students come in and got them involved experientially, but not--we weren't talking service learning courses. Not long-term, but in terms of building a support base, not getting identified as like “those programs.” That's not fair to those programs at all, but as a political strategy it was [important for] the PSC.

A senior administrator informed the Stanford PSC Director and staff to distance the Center from the more controversial programs because “faculty with long memories would remember that they didn't think that much of SWOPSI.” There was a sense that the very fact that SWOPSI was intended to be a “thorn in the side of the University,” made the academic rigor suspect. Those proposing the Stanford PSC deliberately avoided using advocacy language to describe the mission of the Center. It is important to note that messages about strategic distancing came from senior administrators in both universities.

When the Cornell Field Study Office was eliminated, the remaining New York Field Study Program was renamed “The Urban Semester” and publicized as a new field program focusing on multicultural education. Despite the fact that the substance of the New York Program was very similar, this repackaging was seen as a distancing mechanism given the controversy that surrounded the FSO for many years. A faculty member stated that, “[The Dean] eventually changed the name of it and then announced...that there was a

brand new initiative called the Urban Semester, ignoring the 20 years that we had been in New York.”

The Loose Coupling of Language

In some cases, language served as a differentiator in symbol and substance. In other cases, use of language was more symbolic and had little to do with substance. For example when Stanford’s Haas Center adopted “study-service connections,” it was distinct substantively from “public service,” which was not linked to academics. However, the shift in language from “study-service connections” to “service-learning” was symbolic rather than substantive since the shift occurred to respond to language that was being used in the field and had diffused to the University through students and faculty. The shift to “public service education” was both symbolic and substantive, in that it was more inclusive of a spectrum of activities than course-based service-learning alone was.

The distancing described in the previous section is interesting particularly given the extent to which the various experiential learning programs on each campus had informal or formal linkages to one another, as illustrated in Figures 6.1 and 6.2. For example, although the Haas Center at Stanford reportedly absorbed some of the community-based research functions of ARLO, a program administrator said that the Center was strategic in avoiding the language of “action research,” choosing instead the term “public scholarship” to connote community-based or action research that would be perceived as more legitimate within the academy. In some sense, these variations represented artificial distinctions. Likewise, the Haas Center staff reported having a close relationship with the Urban Studies Program although Urban Studies was a “child” of SWOPSI and offered a course in community organizing.

Throughout my research, informants said, “yes, I would consider this activity to be experiential learning, but we would never call it that,” as a direct nod to symbolic use of language for legitimacy. This admission was most evident in terms of undergraduate research. A Stanford administrator working with undergraduate research also acknowledged that she used the term “experiential learning” in some contexts but not others, adding that she was least likely to use the term in the context of the VPUE’s Office because of its perceived legitimacy compared with research. She added that one of her colleagues had an almost “allergic reaction” to the term “service-learning.”

Consistent with the notion of loose coupling (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Weick, 1976), labels for experiential learning in this study were not necessarily linked closely with the actual content or process of the activity. The labeling was symbolic and an explicit legitimacy seeking strategy. Similar or identical activities would be labeled differently in different parts of the university (i.e., research versus public scholarship at Stanford). Lack of clear definitions and distinctions in the field (Stanton, 1990a) allowed for such loose coupling. It is also interesting to note that an administrator at Cornell and one at Stanford, both of whom supported experiential learning efforts, referred to the practice as “*experimental learning*.” Misunderstanding the term could lead someone to infer that experiential learning was perceived as experimental and temporary or peripheral in nature.

Another notable point was the fact that “civic engagement” was a term used much more widely at Cornell than at Stanford. In part, this language reflected the recent focus on civic engagement and a re-examination of the land grant mission at Cornell; and the calls for greater public accountability and community involvement from sources such as Campus Compact. As Holland (2000) notes, the term “civic engagement” is often linked with land grant institutions to emphasize a more reciprocal commitment with community, compared with unidirectional connotations associated with terms such as “outreach.”⁴ While the term “civic engagement” was used regularly by related professional associations, very few informants at Stanford used the term and it was relatively absent from program documents there.

The strategic use and loose coupling of language illustrated the power of symbolism in creating legitimacy and reducing ambiguity within the universities (Bolman and Deal, 1991). Actions within organized anarchies are characteristically political and symbolic. The salience of language use around experiential learning at Stanford and Cornell allowed organizational members to convey legitimacy to multiple audiences.

⁴ See also the 1999 report of the Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land-Grant Universities.

LEGITIMACY AS DEFINED BY THE FIELD OF EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING

Principles of Good Practice

Practitioners in the field of experiential learning established what were considered widely to be principles of good practice for effective service-learning, in particular. These principles were communicated broadly through publications from the field. Evidence of its widespread nature were seen through the number of public service and service-learning centers that publish the principles on their web sites. These principles were developed to help deepen the practice of service-learning and create some criteria for legitimizing service-learning. Below are two sets of Principles for Good Practice that have been accepted widely and have guided practitioners in the field.

Principles of Good Practice in Combining Service and Learning:

An effective and Sustained Program:

1. Engages people in responsible and challenging actions for the common good.
 2. Provides structured opportunities for people to reflect critically on their service experience.
 3. Articulates clear service and learning goals for everyone involved.
 4. Allows for those with needs to define those needs.
 5. Clarifies the responsibilities of each person and organization involved.
 6. Matches service providers and service needs through a process that recognizes changing circumstances.
 7. Expects genuine, active, and sustained organizational commitment.
 8. Includes training, supervision, monitoring, support, recognition, and evaluation to meet service and learning goals.
 9. Insures that the time commitment for service and learning is flexible, appropriate, and in the best interest of all involved.
 10. Is committed to program participation by and with diverse populations.
- (Source: Honnet, E. P. and S. J. Poulson (1989). *Wingspread Principles of Good Practice for Combining Service and Learning*, The Johnson Foundation: Racine, WI).

Principles of Good Practice in Community Service-Learning Pedagogy

1. Academic credit is for learning, not for service.
2. Do not compromise academic rigor.
3. Set learning goals for students.
4. Establish criteria for the selection of community service placements.
5. Provide educationally sound mechanisms to harvest the community learning.
6. Provide supports for students to learn how to harvest the community learning.
7. Minimize the distinction between the student's community learning role and the classroom learning role.

8. Re-think the faculty instructional role.
9. Be prepared for uncertainty and variation in student learning outcomes.
10. Maximize the community responsibility orientation of the course.
(Source: Howard, J. (ed.) (1993). *Praxis I: A Faculty Casebook on Community Service Learning*, Ann Arbor, MI: Office of Community Service Learning Press, University of Michigan).

Both sets of principles emphasize the reciprocity of service-learning between the student and the community. Student learning is of central concern; however, solving problems that are identified by the community is of importance as well.

Community Impact

The communities surrounding Cornell and Stanford were critical of some of the public service and service-learning that occurred in their neighborhoods. Criticism included not involving the community in identifying and formulating solutions to problems and students who were not trained well to carry out service activities in a competent and culturally sensitive manner. The fluid participation of students and the rigidity of the academic calendar were also considered problematic in the community. A history of this criticism was stronger at Cornell, given the expectations that the community had because of its land grant status and its significant impact on the relatively small, rural community in which it was located. The community also questioned its capacity to absorb the number of volunteers that Cornell sent from campus, without coordinating those efforts. As one faculty member stated, "We might want to have all 13,000 of our students engaged in the community, but I'm not sure the community wants all 13,000 of them there." Addressing the issue of capacity is important to good service-learning practice, and was an element that was often overlooked at both universities.

Academic Integrity

The extent to which *learning* was an outcome of experiential learning varied within both universities as well, according to some faculty. A program administrator at Stanford was critical of the Human Biology Internship Program and the lack of attention paid to having students reflect on and integrate their experience with academics. He said, "It's the kind of stuff that makes life difficult for the rest of us [who do this kind of work]." The Human Biology Internship Program required no active reflection or integration of academics *during* the internship experience. Students were required to submit a paper

about their experience at the end of the internship, an approach that was not consistent with good practice since reflection was not integrated throughout the entire experience.

Principles of good practice were at odds with some stakeholders' conceptions about what made for legitimate experiential learning in the university setting. For example, faculty active professionally in the field of experiential learning were quite critical of the way the Cornell in Washington Program was structured. The disconnect between the academic components of CIW and the students' externships was not "legitimate" experiential learning from their perspective. The CIW faculty members, on the other hand, supported this disconnect as it provided some legitimacy since A&S faculty were concerned about appearing to give credit for the externship, which was not allowed. This aspect of legitimacy within the academy was dominant and highlighted how definitions of legitimacy from the perspectives of the academy and the field conflicted.

In legitimizing experiential learning on campus, the principles of good practice were conflated sometimes with having a "regular" faculty member oversee the experiential learning as a sign of legitimacy. A program administrator at Stanford said "I don't buy the notion that just because it's being taught by lecturers and faculty that it's rigorous. Because rigor, I think, has to do with the overall service-learning design not just the traditional course content." This conflation occurred when students sought faculty sponsorship for experiential projects and faculty concentrated on the academic piece of the student's work without creating a learning opportunity that integrated more explicitly the experience with academics.

The principles of good practice in service-learning were most evident within the Field Study Office at Cornell, given its focus on the community and the complexity of its curriculum that attended to learning before, during and after the field experience. These elements of field study that made for "legitimate" experiential learning from the perspective of the Field Study faculty were questioned and debated by departmental faculty throughout the course of the Program's history. The Field Study faculty members were careful to build in mechanisms that helped students integrate their field experiences with academic learning. They were also conscious of the need to "give back" to the community and work *with* the community to solve problems, which was how the action research project started in the New York field study course. During the late 1970s external review

of FSO by experiential educators in the field, the Review Team was very positive about the Program and stated that "...the curricular content of the FSO program has substantial value and should be considered an integral part of the teaching component of the College" (Review Team Report, no date, p. 7). As described in the case study, this assessment conflicted with those made by some departmental faculty.

One of the most contentious parts of the Field Study curriculum was the ID 200 Preparation for Fieldwork course. Departmental faculty felt that this course was unnecessary and took up course credit that students could be using within the departments. A faculty member recalled, "There was this erosion of the idea that fieldwork is an intellectual activity and requires intellectual preparation and not just the content in one's major." Field Study faculty felt that preparing students for field study required preparation for conducting effective field research as well as training students to be aware of and sensitive to different cultures when they entered communities. Departmental faculty felt that focusing on the content of the students' majors was more important.

When the core curriculum of the Field Study Office was on the verge of being eliminated, the program faculty fought to keep pieces of the curriculum, such as the Preparation for Fieldwork course, which they felt were unique to the Program and made the experiential learning "legitimate." When the Dean announced that the core of the Program was to be eliminated and the faculty were to be reassigned to departments, three faculty members resigned on the same day in what one faculty member described as the "mass suicide of the cult of the faculty." He elaborated that the majority of Program faculty felt that "if we're not going to be an academic program then we're not going to be there." He described their group resignation as "an act of integrity" in response to the administration wanting to dilute the field study curriculum. It should be noted that a number of Field Study faculty continue to be influential leaders in the field and helped shape some of the principles that define it.

While the focus on preparation for the field was central to the Cornell Field Study Office, it surfaced in only two other programs in this study. The Cornell Urban Scholars Program had a pre-field preparation component to its curriculum, which was not surprising since one of the faculty involved with the Program used to teach in the FSO. A Stanford

program administrator described how a group of faculty engaged with Undergraduate Research Programs came together in 2002 to discuss how to prepare students better for field research⁵. Given that the URO and URP were made available to a wider range of students, the faculty perceived a greater range of preparation levels among students to conduct research and were concerned that students were not prepared adequately for field research.

The focus on departments often translated into debates about the interdisciplinary nature of field study. Again this battle was fought when deciding whether or not to bring the Field Study Office into the departmental structure. Interdisciplinary work was also seen as generally “less legitimate” by Stanford faculty who criticized the Interdisciplinary Programs such as Human Biology.

In terms of the principles of good practice, there was some dissension within the experiential learning field about whether experiential learning should happen *within* disciplines or *across* disciplines. The discipline-based camp was represented by those who ascribed to principles put forth in the *Service-Learning in the Disciplines* series published by the American Association of Higher Education (Zlotkowski, 1996). As mentioned in the Stanford case study, this approach continued to be touted as an institutionalization strategy to bring service-learning closer to the academic core. While they admitted to using the disciplinary strategy initially to institutionalize service-learning, experiential educators at Stanford were critical of this approach, citing the inherent interdisciplinary approach that was required to address community problems effectively. A Stanford program administrator saw the disciplinary approach to service-learning as collapsing service-learning “into the status quo of the institutional culture.”

Co-optation by the Academy

Several informants who had taught experiential learning courses and supervised action research projects for a number of years reported that they saw service-learning becoming co-opted by the university, often becoming “domesticated” in the process. These assessments were consistent with what Stanton et al. (1999) reported in their oral history of

⁵ As of 2003, Stanford faculty had established a pre-field curriculum with seminars and workshops for students conducting research. 90 students were registered for an Autumn 2003 pre-field seminar.

the evolution of the service-learning field. According to Scott (1998), “Selznick argued that by co-opting representatives of external groups, organizations are, in effect, trading sovereignty for support” (p. 201). The experiential learning programs received more institutional commitment as they were assimilated into the universities. However, when asked what, if anything, was lost as experiential learning became co-opted, informants’ responses ranged from innovation and autonomy to academic integrity and community voice. A Stanford program administrator, describing the evolution of SWOPSI, stated, “...the closer the programs get into the heart of the University and into the administration...those things which make them special and which give them the flexibility and the ability to be responsive, get limited.” Informants, particularly in SWOPSI at Stanford and the Field Study Office at Cornell, felt that the radical, social change aspect of early service-learning had been diluted. A faculty member involved with participatory action research at Cornell had the following to say about how the *nature* of the service and learning in service-learning became domesticated as it became more widespread:

There’s a lot of service to be done on campus that would be intellectually considerably more coherent, but it sure would be politically troublesome. Moral of the story is it strikes me that service-learning is very popular precisely because it’s been domesticated to the point that it doesn’t upset anybody.

He and a few others questioned Cornell’s recent connections with Campus Compact and whether or not it was co-optation of some type. He questioned whether joining Campus Compact was “about universities seeing more activism among students and trying to find a mechanism for surrounding it in some way to keep it from getting out of hand.” While activism had been part of service-learning historically, even before it was labeled as such, the University questioned at various points in time whether or not activism had a legitimate place within the University, and if so, what the boundaries of those activities should be.

LEGITIMACY AS DEFINED BY THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT

Over the past 40 years, the external environment helped shape the changing nature of experiential learning's legitimacy. Elements of the external environment that were influential in defining legitimacy included various social and political movements; national service legislation; government and philanthropic funding for service; peer institutions; and calls for public accountability. These various elements helped shape the perceived role of experiential learning, particularly public service and service-learning, in higher education.

Social and Political Movements

The various political and social movements of the late 1960s provided an impetus for the creation of programs such as SWOPSI at Stanford and the Human Affairs Program at Cornell. Stanford students were involved actively in the anti-war movement from 1966-1969, protesting the Vietnam War, the draft, and Stanford's involvement in classified military research (Pugh, 1999). Students were active also in the Civil Rights Movement as well as the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley that had taken place in 1964. Similar dynamics were in force at Cornell, although racial divisiveness was particularly high on that campus in 1969, centering on African American students' demands for more relevant academic programs, which erupted in student revolt and questioned the relationship between social and racial justice and intellectual freedom (Downs, 1999).

As students engaged in activism on the political front, they began demanding a more active voice in planning their education as well. In part, students felt that there should have been more of a focus in education on solving society's problems using the resources of the university. In 1969, SCIRE became a vehicle for student-initiated educational innovation at Stanford. That same year, three graduate students created opportunities for students to initiate courses through SWOPSI. Similar dynamics prompted the creation of the Human Affairs Program at Cornell. These programs allowed students to broaden the scope of their education, while becoming active in solving problems in society that were prevalent during that time, particularly the civil rights struggles and the War on Poverty. While it was not student-initiated or led, the Field Study Office was conceived as a vehicle for addressing social problems experientially as well.

According to students and faculty, student activism diminished by the mid to late 1970s on campuses, reflecting the changing political landscape. It was after this time that

academic legitimacy concerns were most prominent regarding SWOPSI and SCIRE at Stanford. It was also during that time that the Human Affairs Program at Cornell was eliminated. The 1980s ushered in a new conservative era that reflected the political climate of the Reagan administration. During the 1980s, students became less interested in experiential learning that related to social change and more interested in clinical fieldwork and private sector internships. These shifts were most evident in SWOPSI and SCIRE at Stanford and the Field Study Office at Cornell. The shifts were reflective of growing political conservatism and increasing focus on careers during the Reagan era. In particular, faculty in the New York Field Study Program were concerned by these shifting interests and adapted the curriculum. While students could still intern in a private sector placement, all New York field study students were required to engage in an action research project to “give back” to the community. In some ways these tensions were difficult to negotiate as faculty tried to be responsive to students’ interests without neglecting the community or service-oriented aspects of their programs. These various shifts meant that different actors within the universities structured these programs to pacify students during periods of activism and to “activate” them during periods of complacency.

National Service Legislation

Resources for some of the initiatives in this study came directly from government funds provided through national service legislation that occurred primarily after 1990. This legislation provided not only funding but legitimacy from the external environment. The Corporation for National and Community Service provided resources to Stanford and Cornell. Equally important, the CNCS helped develop the field of service-learning and made it widespread in higher education.

The creation of Campus Compact, while integral to developing public service and service-learning across campuses nationally, was reported as not having much of a direct impact on either university. Stanford informants stated that because they were at the forefront of the movement and actually helped found and shape Campus Compact, they were less likely to benefit from the organization. As stated earlier, Cornell’s engagement with Campus Compact was modest overall, and according to several faculty, the University signed on with Campus Compact reluctantly. Campus Compact had a direct impact on structuring and shaping public service and service-learning nationally, thereby influencing

Stanford and Cornell indirectly. Since Cornell sponsored the New York Campus Compact in 2001, it remains to be seen what impact this latest development will have on Cornell's commitment to service-related activities.

Peer Institutions

Although the *US News and World Report* annual rankings of America's best colleges are criticized regularly in terms of the criteria by which they are ranked, it is important to note that in 2003, for the first time, the magazine ranked the best colleges and universities in terms of "outstanding examples of academic programs that lead to student success" (2003, p. 113). Rankings were compiled based on nominations from college presidents, chief academic officers and deans of students across the country. Included in the rankings were a number of experiential-based programs: internships/co-ops, senior capstones, undergraduate research and service-learning. Below is a table summarizing the rankings for Cornell and Stanford's experiential-based programs:

Table 5.2: Summary of Rankings

	Internships/ Co-ops	Senior Capstone	Undergraduate Research	Service- Learning
Stanford		No. 5	No. 3	No. 1 ⁶
Cornell	No. 8			No. 17

Source: *U.S. News and World Report: America's Best Colleges* (2003), p. 113-114).

Consistently, Stanford was ranked higher on the perceived quality of these programs by higher education administrators. The rankings also seemed to reflect the patterns of relative strength and institutionalization of these various types of experiential learning that I discovered through the case studies. Along with two other institutions, Stanford was considered to have one of the best service-learning programs in the country, whereas Cornell was ranked number 17. According to informants at Stanford, the Haas Center received many inquiries from around the world for information about their "model" program. Stanford also had a long and solid history of providing undergraduate research opportunities; the senior capstone category included projects such as honors theses that allowed students to synthesize what they had learned during their undergraduate careers. Cornell's ranking as eighth for internships and co-ops reflected its well-known engineering co-op program.

⁶ Stanford tied for No. 1 in service-learning with the University of Pennsylvania and Berea College.

These national rankings were significant on two levels. First, they were created based on perceptions of administrators nation-wide, thereby helping to define legitimacy in the institutional environment and specifying models for isomorphism. National visibility of these programs was beneficial to creating legitimacy within their respective universities. Second, the inclusion of these categories was reflective of a shift in perceived importance of these types of programs to undergraduate education. This shift illustrated that the taken-for-granted nature of these programs was important to higher education, at least to administrators, prospective students and their parents. In fact many students have come to expect service-learning and undergraduate research opportunities in universities, according to several informants.

While acknowledging that their elite status helped stem criticism and allowed for experimentation, informants at both universities described the importance of remaining competitive with peer institutions. According to several Cornell faculty, the University joined Campus Compact mainly because “the other Ivies have service-learning and have joined the Campus Compact.” Stanford’s entrepreneurial culture led it to take perceived risks compared with its peer institutions. A couple of administrators at Stanford referenced how administrators from the Ivy League institutions plus a handful of other elite universities were “aghast” at some of Stanford’s experiential programs when they met annually at a gathering of administrators from elite institutions.

Calls for Public Accountability

Cornell was under more pressure than Stanford to be accountable publicly for its activities, given its status as a land grant institution. Concerns about Cornell’s public outreach from a variety of sources culminated in a recent initiative to review and promote civic engagement activities on campus. The Board of Trustees was concerned about the divisions between the statutory colleges and the endowed side of the University and wanted to make sure that the entire University embraced the land grant mission. The Middle States Association evaluation team called for ongoing discussion about “what it means to be an Ivy-League, land-grant, fully engaged university” in its 2001 accreditation review of the University. The evaluation team was impressed with the broad range of public service outreach activities at Cornell, but was concerned by the lack of coordination of these efforts. These concerns, coupled with ongoing tenuous town/gown relationships led the

President to appoint someone as both Vice Provost for Land Grant Affairs and Special Assistant to the President, whose responsibilities included examining civic engagement at Cornell.

While not as salient, Stanford has had its fair share of town/gown issues with the Palo Alto and East Palo Alto communities. Most recently, Stanford was criticized regarding several land use and development issues. A General Use Permit, signed in 2000, entitled Stanford to add five million square feet of buildings to the campus over the next ten years. In exchange, Stanford agreed to several stipulations to preserve natural resources in the surrounding area. Community residents criticized Stanford for not complying with the General Use Permit conditions.

In addition, the community was critical of Stanford and its outreach to East Palo Alto, an economically disadvantaged community near campus. Criticism ranged from lack of outreach to outreach that was undertaken without input from the community. These criticisms led the Haas Center for Public Service to look carefully at how students were trained to work in communities and also led to support for initiatives such as the One East Palo Alto (OEPA) Neighborhood Improvement Project that was resident-driven.

Starting in 2002, these various town/gown issues led the current President to sponsor an annual Community Day at Stanford to break down the perceived barriers between the University and its surrounding community and help promote partnerships. Community Day was a day-long open house on campus that featured musical, educational, art and athletic events as well as health fairs and other activities. The 2002 Community Day drew about 6500 people to campus (<http://news-service.stanford.edu/news/2003/January29/communitydaygrants-129.html>).

Both Cornell and Stanford took notice of how government agencies that provided funding for science research were increasingly critical of researchers' required public outreach plans in their grant proposals. When Stanford and Cornell failed to get major grants from NSF, reportedly because of weak public outreach plans, the universities responded by convening committees to assess how the universities could assist researchers more effectively to avoid losing funding. Stanford was somewhat more proactive than Cornell by linking the Haas Center to a science research center with future plans to increase outreach to other units on campus.

POINTS OF CONVERGENCE AND CONFLICT

In this chapter, I illustrated the ways in which the various notions of legitimacy within the external environment, the experiential learning field and the academy intersected. The forms of experiential learning that were adopted and adapted in this study were shaped by the extent to which these three spheres converged and conflicted with one another. For example, service-learning in research universities evolved and proliferated as an academic yet “domesticated” form of engaging students in the community as the principles of good practice from the experiential learning field were tempered by norms of appropriateness within the academy.

Professional associations, such as the American Association of Higher Education (AAHE)⁷ were strong supporters and advocates of service-learning. However, their intersection with the academy and the service-learning field led AAHE to promote discipline-based service-learning, rather than interdisciplinary-based service-learning, in order to increase legitimacy within the institutions.

Likewise, a few faculty at Cornell criticized Campus Compact, which had been central to shaping the experiential learning field, for ignoring real social change in the external environment as a goal of service-learning and for failing to bring the community to the table to respond to external constituents. One faculty member questioned:

so how can you really look at what is fundamentally a community / university partnership for democracy and only have university presidents assessing it?... I think the Compact has a strong rhetoric of partnership collaboration reciprocity but their practice, like the practice of most of the universities, has largely reproduced that kind of domination.

The recent emergence of research-based experiential learning derived its legitimacy largely from the academy, given the mission of the research university. Some informants saw action research as a way to bring social change back into experiential learning practice, although action research continued to exist on the margins of the academy. Similarly, both Cornell and Stanford have a unique opportunity to proliferate service-based experiential

⁷ While outside the time frame of this study, it is important to note that in 2003, AAHE withdrew support and funding for service-learning initiatives given recent budget cuts. This example illustrates the vulnerability of experiential learning when it intersects with the academy and professional associations outside of the experiential learning field.

learning and help define what NSF, NASA and other government agencies mean when they say that universities should engage in “public outreach.” Given research universities’ dependence on the government for resources to conduct research, this intersection between experiential learning, the community and higher education received strong attention within Stanford and Cornell. It remains to be seen how “public outreach” will be constructed or reconstructed at this intersection.

Conflicts between the spheres were exemplified best in this study by the Cornell Field Study Office, the Cornell Human Affairs Program, and SWOPSI at Stanford, all of which at times resisted adapting experiential learning to fit the norms of the academy. While its focus on field study as a content and process was seen as a best practices “model” for the experiential learning field, the FSO was seen by departmental faculty as unnecessary and infringing upon the core activities of the University. FSO faculty members’ resistance to adaptation ultimately contributed to the Program’s demise. A faculty member’s quote bears repeating to illustrate these conflicting spheres of legitimacy:

And we knew we had a really excellent program. And at that time we were getting such national interest--and that to me was so crazy too--you’d go off campus and everybody was going ‘my God, this is the best thing since sliced bread! How do you do it?’...And then you’d come home and be enemy number one.

Of all the programs in this study, SWOPSI and the Cornell Human Affairs Program were probably most at odds with the academy. They defied taken-for-granted rules and beliefs in the academy about who had jurisdiction over evaluating and granting credit for academic work. Projects generated through SWOPSI and HAP challenged notions of “legitimate” knowledge work given their radical nature. Ultimately these programs were unable to prevail against the academy’s norms, and were co-opted by the academy or eliminated. As one Stanford administrator wrote, “If bureaucracy is unavoidable, then SWOPSI has been reformed by the University rather than the University being reformed by SWOPSI” (“The Heart of the Matter”, 1975, pp. 1-3). This statement rang true as SWOPSI was brought increasingly into the core of the University.

THE POLITICS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION: SUMMARY OF PRIMARY FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

The previous section elaborated findings about the extent to which different conceptualizations of legitimacy converged and conflicted to shape the form that experiential learning took. This section provides a more general summary of the primary findings and observations about the intersection of politics and institutionalization in this study.

Macro Diffusion: Isomorphism and Entrepreneurship

From a macro perspective, Cornell and Stanford adopted similar initiatives at about the same time. This macro homogeneity was a function of both imitation and entrepreneurship. Cornell and Stanford often looked to each other as well as other elite institutions when researching “model programs” as a source of legitimacy. In addition, exchange of personnel between the two institutions helps explain homogeneity of adoption. Stanford was more entrepreneurial in nature and its entrepreneurs were often responding to needs or opportunities in the external environment.

Micro Diffusion: The Role of Agency

Different actors were influential in legitimizing experiential learning at different points in time. The highly institutionalized environments of research universities determined, in part, what was a legitimate activity in those settings; however, actors also played a significant role in determining what was legitimate. Although Stanford and Cornell adopted similar initiatives, the ways in which the initiatives were operationalized and legitimized varied by institution. This study illustrates the role that agency can have in shaping the legitimacy of activities:

- Leadership from *senior administrators* as well as *experiential learning professionals* was essential for legitimizing these initiatives.
- The experiential learning programs at Cornell and Stanford that have maintained the most support and resources were President-initiated programs and centers. The *Presidents* in this study who initiated these often controversial programs had idiosyncrasy credits based on their reputations as academicians and their charismatic power with faculty and students.

- In terms of institutionalizing initiatives, *students* played a more significant role in sustaining experiential learning efforts than they did in initiating them. Unlike faculty support, student support ebbed and flowed given the fluid participation of students and shifting interests and political orientations over time.
- Initiatives that gained the most support and resources tended to have involvement of elite *senior faculty* during the early stages of development. Once legitimized, involvement of elite senior faculty was less important to maintaining legitimacy.

Location, Location, Location...

An analysis of the location of the initiatives in this study provided the following observations about the relationship between structure and legitimacy:

- *Contrary to conventional wisdom in the field of experiential learning field, locating experiential learning initiatives in academic affairs did not necessarily improve an initiative's chance for legitimacy and survival.* Location in the organizational structure was mitigated by politics and the fluid participation of administrators. In some cases, Student Affairs provided a better home financially and politically.
- *While bringing experiential learning programs closer to the administrative and academic core of the institution often resulted in increased resources and legitimacy, movement from the periphery often led to co-optation or adaptation.* By bringing programs closer to the core and co-opting and adapting them, administrators often assumed that the experiential learning programs needed to be "improved." Obtaining resources and legitimacy often resulted in the loss or compromise of original features of the programs.

Properties of the Innovation

Understanding the properties of experiential learning as an innovation provided insights about its diffusion:

- *The quality of experiential learning was often loosely coupled with the legitimacy it received in the institution.* In part, this loose coupling resulted from disagreement about what "legitimate" experiential learning looked like. Programs that were perceived as legitimate that did not adhere to principles of good practice in the field, received legitimacy through other vehicles such as presidential support or participation of senior faculty. Programs that adhered to principles of good practice

but struggled to gain legitimacy within the institution suffered from factors such as lack of legitimate academic credentials for experiential learning faculty and lack of support from senior administrators.

- *The more closely aligned experiential learning was with traditional scholarship, the more legitimate it became.* This relationship was sometimes symbolic, rather than substantive and strategically created by actors through the use of language.

CONCLUSION AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The goal of this historical and exploratory study was to describe and analyze the spread and legitimacy of experiential learning to and within Cornell University and Stanford University. This analysis focused on understanding how elements of legitimacy from the academy, the experiential learning field and the external environment intersected to shape the diffusion, forms and purposes of experiential learning within the universities. These constructions of legitimacy within these three different contexts shifted over time, influencing the extent to which experiential learning was adopted; and once adopted, the extent to which it was adapted, co-opted or eliminated.

Whereas early conceptions of the new institutionalism regarded notions of legitimacy around a particular practice as homogeneous and accepted widely, findings from this study showed that this macro perspective did not account for heterogeneous notions of legitimacy and did not explain how those differences were negotiated through politics on the organizational level. This differentiated perspective on legitimacy provided a richer understanding of the diffusion and operationalization of experiential learning. Ultimately the findings from this study showed that diffusion was more complex than portrayed by most institutional and diffusion theorists.

Case studies, by nature, are not generalizable. However, lessons learned about experiential learning's diffusion at these two research universities can provide insights about how some of the dynamics might be similar in other research universities. As mentioned earlier, the most common strategy espoused by the field for institutionalizing service-learning in higher education was to move it closer to the academic core. Perhaps the most unexpected finding in this study was discovering that from a structural perspective, this strategy was not always the most effective institutionalization strategy. Actors within a university must also negotiate the politics of the institution and assess support from the administration to determine the optimum location through which to institutionalize and sustain experiential learning. This initial finding calls for further research, with a larger sample of institutions, to understand the implications of various structural arrangements on institutionalizing experiential learning in different contexts.

From both theoretical and practice-based perspectives, these case studies raise the question of what the limits of institutionalization are, particularly since experiential learning remains a relatively minor activity within these institutions. As DiMaggio notes, "...changes that jeopardize entrenched parochial interests are less likely to diffuse widely than are those that jeopardize fewer interests or interests of less powerful actors" (1988, p. 9). From a practitioner perspective, to what extent should experiential learning be diffused and institutionalized? From a theoretical perspective, what are the limitations of institutionalization within a particular context such as research universities? These questions are salient for Cornell as the University examines "what it means to be an Ivy-League, land-grant, fully engaged university" in the 21st century, when individual faculty and colleges within the University disagree about who is responsible for the land grant mission.

These questions are also relevant for Stanford as the Haas Center for Public Service seeks to develop a broader network of "public service educators" across campus. What are the practical, philosophical, and organizational implications of making "public service education" so widespread? Will certain aspects of public service education and engagement become diluted or co-opted? In Chapter 1, I raised the following question as a persistent dilemma to service-learning educators: "Should we aim to assimilate service-learning into the norms of the traditional academy, or should we advocate it as a critique of those basic norms?" (Stanton et al., 1999, p. xii). While there are still no clear answers to this question, this study provides some insights about the tradeoffs associated with assimilation.

A final avenue for further research is understanding how different sources of legitimacy are negotiated within other sectors of higher education. One of the similarities between Cornell and Stanford was the strong pressure from faculty to retain jurisdiction over teaching and research given the unique mission and context of the research university. How do notions of legitimacy within the spheres of higher education, the experiential learning field and the external environment intersect within community colleges? Within public institutions? The Cornell case study provided some insights about how perceptions about the legitimacy of experiential learning differed between the statutory and endowed sides of the institution, given its unique relationship with SUNY. Comparative case studies

across higher education sectors and between private and public institutions would provide practitioners with a better understanding of the forces that shape the form that experiential learning takes in their institutions and some of the strategies for institutionalizing it within those unique contexts.



APPENDIX A

Cornell/Stanford Interview Protocol

Background

1. How long have you been at Cornell/Stanford? What different roles in general have you held since you have been here?
2. If a faculty member on campus were to ask you what experiential learning is, what would you say?
3. What involvement, if any, have you had with experiential learning at Cornell/Stanford?
4. Where is EL located at Cornell/Stanford?
5. What are the different forms it takes? (e.g., internships, service-learning, etc.)

History of EL on Campus

1. Tell me about how this [program/center/course] got started.
2. Where did the idea for it originate?
3. What was the rationale for it?
4. I am trying to understand how different people responded to this initiative when it first started. Who supported it? Was there any opposition to it? If so, who opposed it? (probe for reactions of faculty, students, administrators, community participants, etc.).
5. If so, why was it opposed?
6. What was the level and type of involvement of different players on campus (faculty, students, administrators)?
7. Was there a particular model on which the [program/center/course] was developed? If so, please describe the model. If not, what influenced how it was designed?
8. [If they specified a model]-- Where did this model come from? Why do you think this particular model was used?
9. In what ways, if any, has the [program/center/course] changed since its inception? What were the circumstances behind those changes?
10. Currently, how is this [program/center/course] perceived by different people within the College? Within the University at large?
11. What sort of formal or informal relationships do you have with other people or centers on campus that participate in experiential learning?

Current Status of EL on Campus

1. Currently, how is experiential learning in general perceived by different stakeholders on campus?
2. To what extent do these perceptions vary by type of experiential learning (e.g., service learning vs. cooperative education)? By location?
3. Who tends to teach EL courses at Cornell? (probe for courses that are formally vs. informally designated as experiential learning courses).
4. If an assistant professor with extensive involvement in experiential education were to come up for tenure at Cornell/Stanford, what might be some of the reactions from tenure committee members regarding his or her prospects for tenure? Would this vary by department or college? If so, how? Can you describe an example of when this has happened on campus?
5. In what ways, if any, has the purpose of experiential education changed over time at Cornell? (probe for differences among different forms of EL).

Resources/Institutionalization

1. I am interested in understanding the extent to which EL is supported by resources. Financially, how is this [program/center/course] supported (internal vs. external funding)?
2. How many staff members are designated to support this initiative?
3. How many faculty are involved? In what ways are they involved? How, if at all, are faculty rewarded or compensated for working with experiential education? (probe for formal vs. informal involvement)
4. What types of affiliations do people working with this initiative have with experiential educators at other Colleges or Schools at Cornell/Stanford? At other universities? With national EL-related associations?
5. To what extent would you say that EL has become legitimized and accepted at Cornell/Stanford? Why do you think that is so?
6. What do you think the future of EL is at Cornell/Stanford?

Follow Up

1. Are there other people on campus with whom I should talk to get information about experiential education at Cornell/Stanford?
2. Are there particular documents I should seek in the archives?

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FIELD STUDY COURSES

Below are descriptions of the major Field Study courses that were developed from 1972-2002 in the College of Human Ecology at Cornell. Please note that course designations changed from ID (Interdisciplinary) to FIS (Field and International Studies) during the merger between Field Study and the International Program (FISP) in 1988. The courses changed again from FIS to HE (Human Ecology) when the FISP was downsized to the Urban Semester Program. Whenever possible, descriptions were taken directly from course syllabi.

ID 100: Preparation for Fieldwork (originally 1 credit; changed to 2)

ID 100 was initiated in response to requests from departments to provide pre-field preparation for their students. This course attracted a large number of students. Due to the overlap in course content, ID 100 was absorbed into ID 200 by 1982. When the courses were combined, students in 100 and 200 took the same skills training preparation for the first half of the semester. After that time the 100 students were finished with their course and the 200 students went on to participate in a community-based project (See description below). ID 100 was originally conceived as a prerequisite for ID 406.

ID 200: Preparation for Fieldwork (4 credits)

Field Study faculty considered ID 200 to be a unique and important part of the field study curriculum. "The goal of FIS 200 is to provide pre-field students with instruction and practice in field learning skills that will enable them to enhance their learning from field study, internships, community service, and other experiential learning courses. These skills include: analysis of assumptions, perceptions, and biases; field data gathering methods such as participant observation and interviewing; analysis of non-verbal communication; self-directed learning skills such as critical reflection and setting learning objectives; and effective communication and interaction in small groups. The focus of FIS 200 is on the multiple cultural and social settings that students encounter in the small group, organization, and community contexts of their field study experiences. FIS 200 attempts to prepare students to analyze and understand the ecology of these settings and to make transitions across different cultural settings" (FIS 200 Syllabus, Fall 1989).

In Fall 1983, the course was redesigned to focus on ethnography to introduce students to the study of different cultural settings. As a result of this shift, the case study format that was formerly used was replaced with a field project. "Instead of being assigned to research a specific topic within a local controversial issue, students are assigned to a particular geographic area of the community. They then proceed to find out about the people / demographics, needs and concerns. Through their various methods of participation, observation, and interviewing, students are able to develop reports about their cultural setting" (FS Newsletter, Spring 1984, p. 5). ID 200 was a prerequisite for the 400 series field courses.

FIS 405

"Unlike the other field study seminars, FIS 405 is an academic course in organization theory, less closely articulated with students' field experiences than is traditional in FIS 406, 408, and 409. Although both the FISP and Cornell in Washington have hopes that this pilot effort will lead to greater involvement of FISP in students' field experiences, FIS 405 is presently conceived of as a classroom seminar that draws on but is not reliant on students' placements. FIS is designed to enhanced students' understanding of the federal system of administrative agencies and the ancillary private organizations that operate at the borders of the 'fourth estate.'...All students participating in the seminar are required to utilize their Cornell in Washington placement experiences as the basis of three organizational analysis papers assigned during the semester" (FISP Newsletter, 1988, p. 6).

ID 406: Sponsored Field Learning/Internships

"This course serves as the College of Human Ecology's interdepartmental sponsorship of students' participation in structured, off-campus field experiences or internships administered by non-Cornell and/or non-credit granting institutions or agencies" (ID 406 Syllabus, 1982-1983). "A central objective of ID 406 is...to increase your understanding of both the inner workings of formal organizations and those factors that force an accommodation between the organization and the outside world.... You are asked to view your placement as a case study in modern organizations and to examine it thoroughly against the back-drops of abstract writings of organization theorists. [You will be asked] to undertake a serious piece of field research, drawing on your pre-field training for the tools and skills you will need to do this well" (ID 406 Syllabus, Spring 1985). A major focus of the course was self-directed learning, given that students were off-campus. ID 406 provided an opportunity for students to learn in the field outside of NYC and Ithaca. A majority of placements were in Washington, D.C. and along the East Coast; however, students were not restricted by location. Traditionally the Director of the Field Study Program taught this course and students were expected to submit assignments through mail.

ID 408: The Ecology of Urban Organizations (9-15 credits)

"ID 408 is an experiential learning program which integrates internship experiences with classroom instruction. It seeks to improve students' self-directed learning skills while enhancing their understanding of organizational behavior. Taught from an ecological perspective, the course examines how environmental factors shape behavior and decision making within formal organizations. Students in the course participate as interns, three and a half days each week, in a wide range of public, private and non-profit organizations in the New York area. One day each week students attend a daylong reflective seminar which enables them to share their internship experiences with their colleagues. Through lectures, discussions, simulations, speakers and field visits to area agencies/firms and neighborhoods the seminar seeks to expand their understanding of organizational behavior and the impact an urban setting has on organizational life. A half day each week students examine a critical issue facing communities and firms in the New York City area. They may engage in this research on either an individual or group basis under the direction of College faculty members. Past students' projects have explored the future of back office space in Manhattan, teenage substance abuse in Queens, neighborhood change in Manhattan Valley

and Long Island City, and the impact of Reaganomics on the delivery of social services in New York City” (ID 408 Syllabus, Fall 1986).

ID 409: The Ecology of Organizations in the Upstate Region (4-15 credits)

“ID 409...like its companion courses, ID 408...and ID 406...is designed to provide students with the opportunity to work in community settings while simultaneously assisting them in stepping back from and consciously reflecting on that experience. In order to insure that students are able to pursue their personal interests and needs for learning through their field placements, the course is individualized and trains participants in the self-directed learning skills requisite to organizing their fieldwork experience around educational objectives. Simultaneously, however, in order to assist students in developing a systematic overview of their placements--why and how they function as they do to carry out their work in the community--ID 409 introduces students to the ecology of human organizations, guiding them through a step-by-step analysis of the micro-and macro-environmental forces that shape formal, complex organizations. ID 409 is thus organized around the dual objectives of assisting students in structuring an off-campus learning experience that is academically credible while providing them with an intellectual framework for understanding that experience in terms of modern organization theory. In this context, it is important to understand what ID 409 does not propose to accomplish...[it] is not a departmental internship designed to focus specifically on the content of students’ major courses of study....Developing a sensitivity to community concerns and an ability to balance objective, critical inquiry with committed action are the final objectives of the course” (ID 409 syllabus, 1986-1987).

ID 409 was a highly concentrated version of ID 408. It was a six-week, six-credit summer only program in which all students were placed in human service agencies, compared with 408, which included private and public sector placements. ID 409 was based in and around Tompkins County. ID 409 “is designed for students who wish to work in an individual field setting rather than on a project. The purpose of the course is to teach students how to ‘think ecologically’ about human organizations and to become self-directed learners. ID 409 also emphasizes developing a sensitivity to community concerns” (FS Newsletter, Spring 1983).



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⁸ Personal and confidential memos, letters, and reports are not included in the bibliography in order to ensure informants' anonymity.

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